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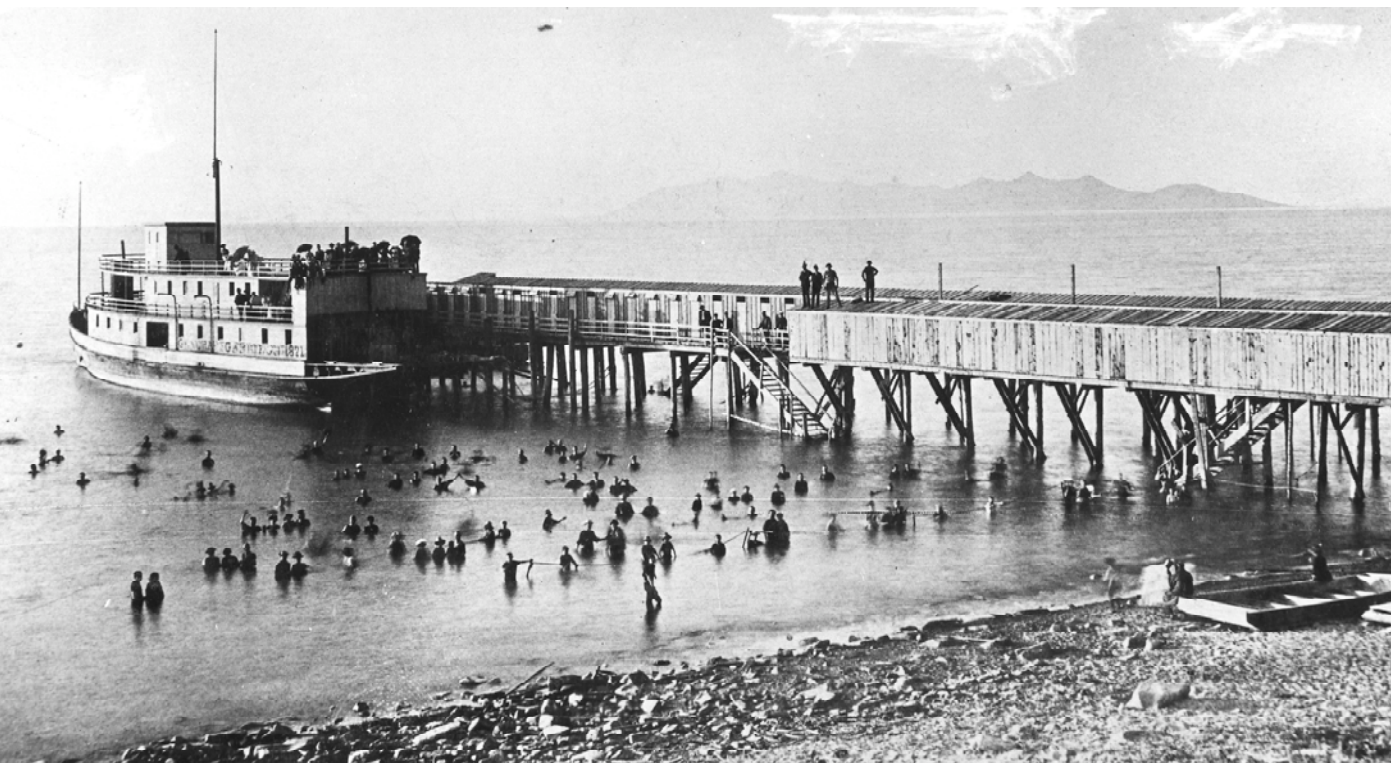


UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Americans take great pride in being a nation of immigrants. Except for the indigenous peoples, we are all descended from immigrants who crossed the Atlantic or Pacific Oceans during some period of time leaving native lands of rich culture, firmly grounded traditions, and ancient languages to seek a different life and establish a new home in far off America.

The subject of our first article for 2006, Daniel Bonelli, was just such an immigrant and his story is representative of the thousands of immigrants to Utah and millions of immigrants to the United States during the nineteenth century. After joining The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in 1854, he left the verdant fields and meadows of his native Switzerland and, after arriving in Utah in 1860, spent the next forty-three years carving out an existence and leaving a legacy in the unfamiliar rocks and deserts of southwestern Utah and southeastern Nevada. A man of many talents and strong conviction, Bonelli exemplified an ability to keep the delicate balance between individual and community. His story is one worth reading and remembering.

George August Sheets was born in 1864, four years after Daniel Bonelli arrived in Utah. His life in urban Salt Lake City with the municipal police department offers an interesting contrast with that of the immigrant pioneer

Daniel Bonelli. George Sheets was no stranger to the struggle between the Liberal and People's Party for political control of Utah, nor the spoils of office, vice, crime, scandal, corruption, and hostility that were found in Salt Lake City at the beginning of the twentieth century. As we shall read, Sheets' professional career was interwoven into this difficult time in Utah's capital city.

For twenty-first century Utahns who live at a time when music is available almost anywhere at anytime at the push of a button or the turn of a dial, it is difficult to appreciate the important role town bands and local orchestras filled providing entertainment to their nineteenth century ancestors. Our third article recounts the story of Alfred Marshall Fox and the Lehi Brass Band. Founded in 1871, the band was a viable cultural force in the community life for two decades.

Our final article highlights the photographer Arthur Rothstein. In March 1940 Rothstein, an employee of the United States Department of Agriculture's Farm Security Administration Historical Section, crossed into Utah from Wyoming and traveled west through Summit, Salt Lake, and Tooele Counties to Wendover on the Utah-Nevada border. The black and white photographs that he took of Utah during the late winter some sixty-six years ago offer a valuable visual record of Utah near the end of its first century of settlement.

This issue considers the lives and accomplishments of four individuals—Daniel Bonelli, George A. Sheets, Alfred Marshall Fox, and Arthur Rothstein. Each one used his time, talents, and skills in vastly different ways. Nevertheless their stories remind us that our individual efforts are no less important today.

ON THE COVER: The Provo Fourth Ward Band was organized in 1900 and continued until late 1903. Members include: front row, left to right, Franklyn Y. Gates, William E. Bassett, Vivian Snow, Irving Snow, Jesse Fields, and Harold Smoot. Back Row: Calvin Beebe, Leonard Cluff, B. Cecil Gates, Karl Keeler, Ray Warner, Jesse Haws, Harvey H. Gates, Elwood Beebe, and Wilford Smoot. UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OPPOSITE: The General Garfield excursion boat docked at Garfield Beach sometime prior to 1904 when a fire burned the landing pier.

From Switzerland to the Colorado River: Life Sketch of the Entrepreneurial Daniel Bonelli, the Forgotten Pioneer

By WALDO C. PERKINS

UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED, ALL PHOTOGRAPHS AND ILLUSTRATIONS COURTESY OF THE AUTHOR

Daniel Bonelli, born February 25, 1836, died at Rioville, Nevada, on December 20, 1903, at the age of sixty-seven. Few people are familiar with this brilliant man's remarkable story. Described as a "renaissance man" by one historian, his life can now be told with a broader stroke of the pen and with historical accuracy.[1] He was Muddy (Moapa) Valley, Nevada's first permanent pioneer, arriving in 1868 and residing there until his death. A man of many talents, Bonelli was known as a great letter writer, a viticulturist (cultivator of grapes especially for the production of wine), and a shrewd entrepreneur.

Rioville, situated at the junction of the Virgin and Colorado Rivers and now covered by the waters of Lake Mead, was half a world away from Bonelli's birthplace in the village of Bussnang located in the northern Switzerland Canton of Thurgau, about twenty miles south of Lake Constance and the

Daniel Bonelli

Waldo C. Perkins, an otolaryngologist, retired in 1989 after twenty-nine years of practice at the Salt Lake Clinic. His maternal grandfather, John G. Hafen, was closely associated with Daniel Bonelli in Santa Clara. His paternal great-grandfather and grandfather, Ute Warren Perkins and Ute Vorace Perkins, were residents of the Muddy (Moapa) Valley who knew and respected Daniel Bonelli.

[1] Dr. Melvin T. Smith, former director of the Utah State Historical Society in a personal conversation with the author.

German border. Daniel's parents, Hans George and Anna Maria (Mary) Ammann Bommeli and their children joined The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in 1854. Following their baptism, Daniel and his brother George changed their names to Bonelli to symbolize that they had become "new persons."[2] Daniel was ordained a priest and placed in charge of the LDS members in Weinfelden, nine in number. As an active and effective missionary, Daniel baptized forty of the fifty-six Mormon converts in Switzerland in 1855.[3]

The sale of the family home and furnishings yielded enough money to provide transportation to Utah for Daniel's parents and three younger sisters. They arrived in Salt Lake City on September 11, 1857.

The following year in October 1858, Daniel left Switzerland to serve as a missionary in England. There, in addition to his work as a traveling elder in the Birmingham Conference, he wrote nine articles for *The Latter-day Saints Millennial Star* on such topics as "Language and Its Proper Use," "Hope," "Philanthropy," "Regeneration," and "Divine Purposes." The articles reveal that Bonelli, for a young twenty-three year old convert and native of Switzerland, had a very good command of the English language and the doctrines of the Mormon faith.[4]

Daniel's brother George and their sister Mary, who had been working as a weaver in Germany, sailed for America in 1859.[5] They waited on the east coast in the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn, New York, until Daniel arrived onboard the *Underwriter* which sailed from England on March 30, 1860, and landed at New York City's Castle Garden where he was met by George and Mary.[6] The three then left for Utah traveling first by rail up the Hudson River to Albany and then west to Niagara, Detroit, Chicago, and St. Joseph, Missouri, where their rail journey terminated. In St. Joseph they boarded the steamer *Emilie* and traveled up the Missouri River to within four miles of Nebraska City and then walked the rest of the way to Florence, Nebraska, arriving on May 11, 1860.[7]

[2] Walter Lips, "Daniel Bommeli of Bussnang: The Life Story of a Swiss," translation of a presentation by Walter Lips on September 19, 1997, in Greuterhof, Islikon, Switzerland; hereafter cited as Lips, "Daniel Bonelli of Bussnang." Researchers state that Daniel was born in Bussnang. However when he was sealed to Ann Haigh in the Endowment House in 1861, Daniel gave the nearby town of Weinfelden as the place of his birth. Hans George, a weaver by trade, also did considerable coopering, making tubs and barrels. Hans George had been married previously to his second wife's sister, Anna Barbara Ammann, who had died in 1834. The children of the first marriage who survived to adulthood were Johann George and Maria (Mary). From the second marriage the only adult survivors were Johann Daniel, Susanna/ Suzetta, Elisabetha/ Lisette, and Louisa/Louise.

[3] Dale Z. Kirby, "History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Switzerland," unpublished Master's Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1971.

[4] The articles appeared between April 9, 1859, and August 11, 1860, in the *Millennial Star*.

[5] Johan Georg Bommeli, Translated Journal, March 12, 1860—March 11, 1861, copy in author's possession. Hereafter cited as Bommeli, Translated Journal. Johan started keeping the journal before he changed his name from Bommeli to Bonelli.

[6] European Mission, Immigration Record, Liverpool Office, LDS Church Archives, 158.

[7] Bommeli, Translated Journal.

There they waited for more than a month for others to arrive and for the rains to cease. George and Mary joined the Jesse Murphy wagon train while Daniel journeyed with the James D. Ross wagon train.[8] Arriving in the Salt Lake Valley in September 1860, the three emigrants enjoyed a pleasant reunion with their family members who were living in the Nineteenth Ward where their father had established a successful spinning and weaving business. Both Daniel and George worked at whatever employment they could find. We know that George worked as a shoemaker and also regularly shucked corn for Bishop Edwin D. Wooley of the Thirteenth Ward.[9] We have little information as to what Daniel did except for secretarial work including service as secretary of the German Home Mission writing letters to Brigham Young for mission president Karl G. Maeser.[10]

It is family tradition that Bonelli served as a private secretary to Brigham Young. However, a detailed search of the Historical Department Journal from the time that Bonelli arrived in Utah until his call to the Southern Utah Mission in November 1861 does not substantiate this tradition. The journal notes that Richard Bentley, a secretary of Brigham Young, was called on a mission to England and was replaced but Bonelli is not mentioned. Supporting the families' position is a letter Bonelli wrote to Brigham Young from Santa Clara in which he concludes, "With sentiments of high esteem and kind regards to . . . the brethren in the office."[11] In another letter to Apostle George Albert Smith, Bonelli concludes, "Give my regards to Brothers Woodruff, Long, and Bullock."[12]

Just over a year of his arrival in the Salt Lake Valley, Daniel Bonelli was called during the October 1861 church conference to lead a group of Swiss Saints to strengthen the Southern Utah Mission and to establish a wine mission in Santa Clara. During the conference, "Brother Daniel Bonelli read the names of the twenty-nine heads of Swiss families who were selected to settle in the southern part of the Territory." President Brigham Young said, "If the brethren did not choose to volunteer for this mission the Presidency and Twelve would make the selections and they would expect the brethren to go and stay until they are released.[13]

Brigham Young encouraged those about to leave for southern Utah to find companions and be married in the Salt Lake City Endowment House.

[8] Ross had been a counselor to Asa Calkins in the European Mission Presidency and was in charge of the Saints on the *Underwriter*. His company was made up largely of those who had been on the ship with him. Daniel had also developed a friendship with Ann Haigh, a twenty-six year old convert who sailed with Daniel on the *Underwriter* and had been very impressed with Bonelli's articles published in the *Millennial Star*. The friendship would later culminate in marriage.

[9] Bommeli Translated Journal.

[10] Karl G. Maeser, President German Home Mission, to Brigham Young, February 1861, and June 13, 1861, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Church Archives.

[11] Daniel Bonelli to President Brigham Young, January 1, 1862, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Church Archives.

[12] Daniel Bonelli to Apostle George A. Smith, July 18, 1862, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Church Archives.

[13] *The Latter-Day Saints Millennial Star*, LDS Church Archives, 24:41-42.

Accordingly Daniel Bonelli, age twenty-four and his twenty-six-year-old English friend Ann Haigh were married in the Endowment House by Daniel H. Wells on October 25, 1861.[14]

Ann Haigh Bonelli

Many of those called to go to Santa Clara were too poor to buy the necessary oxen and wagons; hence the bishops of the various communities along the route were instructed to provide the teams and wagons. While journeying south the Swiss Company attracted a great deal of attention. At Beaver, they provided music and danced on two consecutive nights with other Saints journeying to St. George.[15] Stopping at Kanarra Creek they "excited much curiosity . . . by their singing and good cheer." Arriving in Santa Clara on November 28, they joined the twenty families of Fort Clara Saints and settled south and east of them. Less than two months later, a great flood roared down the Santa Clara Creek. Bonelli wrote to Brigham Young on Sunday, January 19, 1862, explaining that "at three o'clock this morning the last vestige of the fort, the schoolhouse and seven other houses above the fort had disappeared and in their place roar now the wild torrents of the river, still widening by the continual fall of both banks. Dr. Dodge's [Walter E.] nursery is also gone with many other gardens and orchards."[16]

The early history of Santa Clara has been told many times and need not be repeated.[17] Here Daniel Bonelli, as the presiding elder in Santa Clara, dedicated the land which had been selected for the Swiss Saints, following which lots were apportioned by a lottery.[18] In the fall of 1862, Edward Bunker from Toquerville replaced Zadoc K. Judd as the new bishop over the Fort Clara and Swiss Saints.[19]

In the records of the Swiss who settled Santa Clara little mention is made of Bonelli's father or of his brother or his sisters. A granddaughter of Daniel's brother George, states that:

[14] Record of Sealings, Special Collections, Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[15] Diary of Mrs. Albert Perkins, a.k.a. Hannah Gold Perkins, LDS Church Archives.

[16] Daniel Bonelli to Brigham Young, January 19, 1862, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Church Archives.

[17] See Andrew Karl Larson, *I Was Called to Dixie* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1961), 43-54; Nellie Gubler, "History of Santa Clara," in *Under the Dixie Sun*, ed. Bernice Bradshaw (Washington County Chapter, Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1950), 145-76.

[18] Zadoc K. Judd, Autobiography, Washington County Library, St. George, Utah, 37.

[19] Bunker was a Mormon Battalion veteran, had served a four year mission to England and returned home in 1856. He was selected to lead the Third Handcart Company. After settling in Ogden he was ordained a bishop and served until his call to the Southern Utah Mission in the fall of 1861, settling in Toquerville where he was living when called to become bishop of Santa Clara.

> Brigham Young advised the Bonelli family to go to Dixie to settle. The family left Salt Lake and went to Dixie, but the hardships were too much and it was hard to get settled and make a living . . . Grandfather, who was by now working at cloth manufacturing was sent to make patterns for the weavers at Santa Clara. He also worked at weaving in other parts of Washington County but did not like this part of the country as well as Salt Lake City so he and his father came back to Salt Lake.[20]

There is no record of the Bonelli family being a part of the initial group that Daniel led to Santa Clara.

In 1863 Ann gave birth to a daughter whom they named Caroline Ann. The baby lived but a short time, dying in 1864. In her grief, Ann turned to spiritualism and astrology in a vain hope of communicating with her departed daughter.[21]

Following a pattern developed in the British Mission, Bonelli would take up his pen at the slightest provocation. He wrote often, freely, clearly, and with compelling logic. Through his many letters we can follow his movements from Santa Clara to Millersburg (Beaver Dam), to St. Thomas, and finally to Rioville. Those letters give us a lucid picture of the problems in these areas and his suggested remedies.[22] They clearly show that Bonelli, scientifically oriented, was quick to write on subjects from mining to meteorology and from viticulture to cotton production. They reveal Bonelli to be a man of warmth and tenderness as well as a man of sweeping vision.

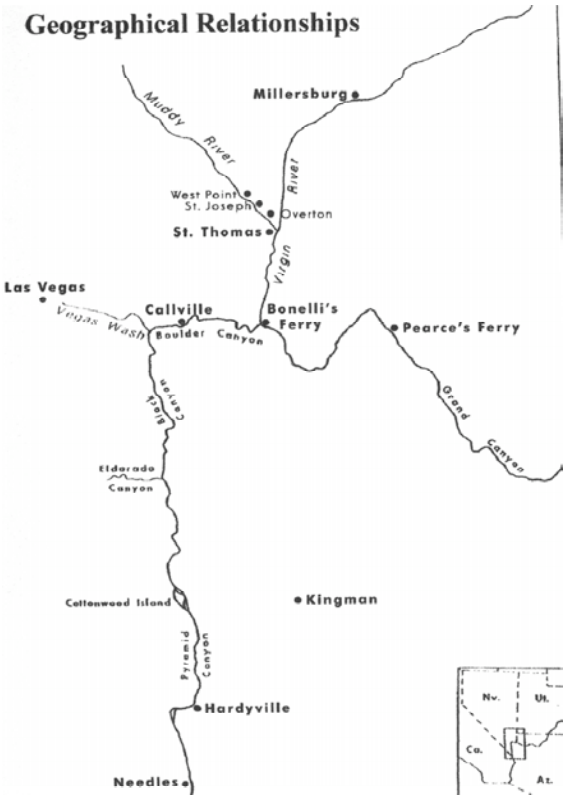
When Bonelli felt the St. George City Council overstepped the limitations of their charter on water rights, he wrote to Apostle George A. Smith. He seemed more comfortable in writing to George A. than any other church leader as he had served under George A.'s brother, John Lyman Smith in Switzerland. He described a sullen gloom that was resting upon the town while the trees, vines, and the cotton were dying. Recognizing he could be treading on dangerous ground, Bonelli pointed out that "Bishop Bunker stemmed his [Bishop Bunker's] influence against the movement, believing that the matter would mature itself in due time." Sensing the danger of his statements, he hastened to add: "I have been lengthy in my communication and have mentioned facts as they exist even at the risk of being thought a 'grumble' but I have preferred to do this to doing what many men prefer, mourning in secret against the ruling priesthood, and if I have wearied you with my long tirade . . . you may have the charity to send me a reproof so I may learn better."[23]

[20] Olla Bonelli Hiss, "Johann George Bonneli, 1859," Tooele County Company, Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 3-4; copy in author's possession.

[21] This statement is from William Bonelli, oldest son of Daniel's son, George, written on the last page of Daniel's granddaughter, Pearl Perkins Whitmore's "History of the life of Daniel Bonelli," copy in author's possession. Six other children were born to Daniel and Ann: Daniel Leonard in 1865; Mary Isabelle (Belle) in 1867; George Alfred in 1869; Benjamin Franklin in 1870; Edward in 1873; and Alice Maud in 1874. The eldest son, Leonard died in 1882 at the age of sixteen from a rattlesnake bite.

[22] The author has in his possession typewritten copies of twenty-eight letters which were written by Daniel from which excerpts will be quoted or paraphrased throughout this sketch. All but three of these letters were given to the author by Dr. Melvin T. Smith.

[23] Daniel Bonelli to George A. Smith, August 18, 1863, LDS Church Archives.



Map showing the area of Daniel Bonelli's activities along the Virgin, Muddy, and Colorado Rivers.

Under Apostle Erastus Snow's direction, settlers were called to Clover and Meadow Valley early in 1864.[24] Shortly before May of that year, a William "Gunlock Bill" Hamblin, brother of Jacob and one of the first to settle in Meadow Valley, visited with an Indian who had bullets made of silver. He inquired as to where he obtained the silver and the Indian led him to an outcropping of ore.[25] This outcropping, ten miles northwest of Meadow Valley, would later become the source of the rich Pioche mines which, over an eight-year period beginning in 1869, netted more than twenty million dollars in silver.[26] In early 1864 Bonelli and others went to the area and filed claims but did not record their filings with the proper authorities, form a mining district, or do the proper assessment work. As President Young had urged dispatch, Bonelli wanted to go back and do what was necessary to secure the claims. His request was turned down by Bishop Bunker and the Mormon claims fell into non-Mormon hands.

In 1864, Bonelli wrote a letter to the *Deseret News* stating that the Swiss population in Santa Clara, now the majority, was "endeavoring to cultivate the grape to the extent that their circumstances and means permitted." They had learned that the California grape was not hardy enough to withstand the Dixie winter so they were trying to propagate the Isabella and Muscatine varieties. He then made this optimistically bold statement: "I have no doubt that this country will prove as good a wine growing district as the south of France and Italy." [27]

[24] Clover Valley was seventy-eight miles from St. George by a circuitous road through Mountain Meadows and along Shoal Creek. It was about forty miles in a straight direction northwest of Santa Clara while Meadow Valley was about forty miles in a north northwest direction from Clover Valley.

[25] James W. Hulse, *The Nevada Adventure, a History* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1966), 134.

[26] Thompson and West, *History of the State of Nevada, With Illustrations and Biographical Sketches* (Oakland: Howell-North, 1881), 484.

[27] Daniel Bonelli to the *Deseret News*, May 29, 1864, LDS Church Archives.

The Civil War brought new problems to the Saints. Railroads, giving priority to war needs, could not be depended upon during these turbulent times to bring immigrants and materials from eastern ports. The Great Plains Indians, freed from federal government intervention, were a greater threat to wagon trains from the Missouri Valley carrying immigrants and supplies. Nor did the war's end appear to be in sight. Consequently, Brigham Young and other church leaders decided to transport immigrants and goods from the East to the southern Utah settlements via the Colorado River.

In 1864 Anson Call, a fifty-four-year-old veteran church member who had learned to work peacefully with the native peoples, was called to build a warehouse to facilitate the movement of goods and immigrants on the Colorado River just below Boulder Canyon at what became known as Callsville.

Two steamship companies competed to transport immigrants and supplies—the Colorado Navigation Company and the Union Line.[28] Local businessmen under the leadership of Horace Eldredge organized the Deseret Mercantile Association. With shares of stock selling for a thousand dollars, the company claimed that supplies and goods could be obtained via the Colorado River route much more cheaply than those coming overland from Omaha or San Francisco.[29]

Several colonies of Latter-day Saints were called to settle valleys that would act as way-stations and support this immigration. In January 1865, Thomas S. Smith began a settlement on the Muddy River in what was then northern Arizona. At the same time, Henry W. Miller led a group that included Daniel and Ann Bonelli to settle Millersburg (Beaver Dam), thirty miles southwest of St. George. Miller wrote to the Salt Lake City *Semi Weekly Telegraph* in the spring of 1866 telling how they had seven different varieties of grapes and how they had put out several thousand grape roots and cuttings. They had planted several hundred fruit trees including white and black figs and lemons and plums. They had also opened a new road to St. George that was twelve miles shorter than the previous road.[30]

Bonelli, with characteristic energy and optimism, went to work and soon had a nursery, vineyards, and fruit trees under cultivation and ready to bear fruit. The following year, 1867, he wrote, "There is no climatic reason why we should not raise the fig, the lemon, olive, pomegranate, and perhaps

[28] The Union Line even sent riverboat captain Thomas E. Trueworthy to Salt Lake City to solicit business. Journal History, March 24, 1865.

[29] Journal History, November 30, December 14, and 17, 1864, and March 29, 1865.

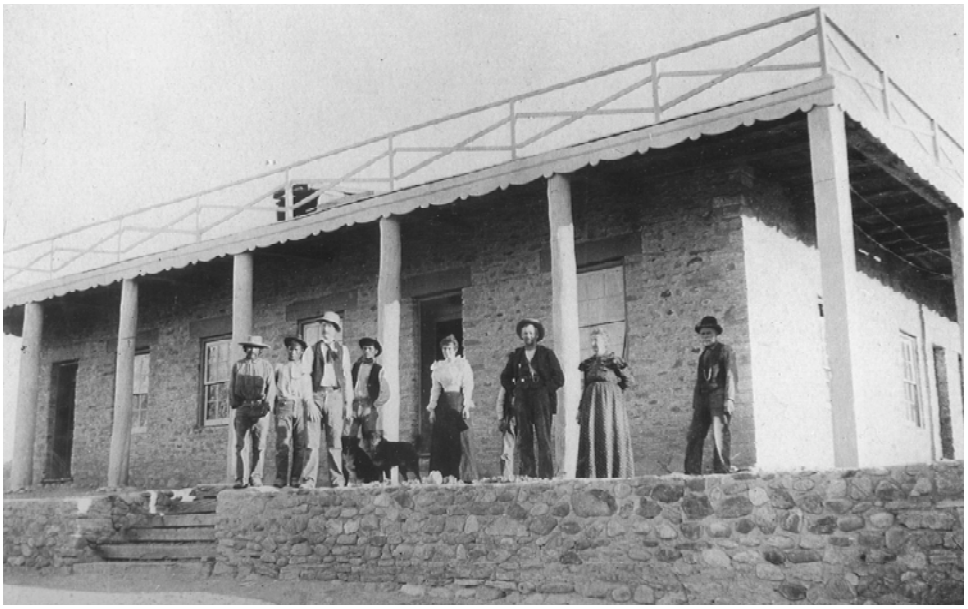
[30] *Semi-Weekly Telegraph*, April 30, 1866. By 1867, following the end of the Civil War, construction of the transcontinental railroad moved rapidly ahead. As the terminus of the Union Pacific moved closer to the Salt Lake Valley there was no longer economic justification for Callville and it was abandoned. The establishment of Callville as a way station, on paper, was a grand and glorious plan but in reality, only the riverboat *Esmeralda* made several trips to Callville in the last months of 1866 with the last trip probably in early 1867. Another reason for its failure was that the land upon which the warehouse had been built had been pre-empted by non-Mormons. Unfortunately the Colorado River was never used for church immigration. Melvin T. Smith, "The Colorado River: Its History in the Lower Canyon Area," (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1974), 425; hereafter cited as Smith, "The Colorado River."

even the orange. We have imported the best raisin and some grapes of Spain, Portugal, France, Hungary and the Canary Islands and we only require the time they need to come into full bearing to prove Utah that we can raise as good grapes as ever graced the sunny hills of Spain or the hills of Hungary."[31]

But six months later, on the morning of December 24, a disastrous flood wiped out their homes, farms and everything they had built. Bonelli lamented that "young orchards and vineyards, with good promise of ample fruiting the present season, the first of their full bearing, have taken passage towards the Pacific."[32]

The devastating flood forced Bonelli to abandon Millersburg and move to St. Thomas on the Muddy River.[33] Soon after arriving in St. Thomas, Bonelli built a solid five-room adobe home for his family. This dwelling remained functional until covered by the rising waters of Lake Mead in 1938. Casting his lot with the Saints who had been in this valley for three years, Bonelli became one of the area's biggest boosters. In April 1868 he wrote a lengthy letter to the *Deseret News* on cotton culture, reflecting an amazing technical expertise.[34] Seven weeks later he would write: ". . . After being washed out from the Beaver Dams . . . and having orchard, vineyard, and nursery partly freighted gratis to the Gulf of California by the flood, and partly conveyed on wheels to this place, stands again erect with a better vineyard than he had before and a better place, working with more zeal." He then mentioned the grapes under cultivation: "the Isabella and Catawba of frosty climes . . . the Syrian of the Holy Land and the Perfumed Muscat of Egypt, with the raisin of Hungary, each taking kindly to the soil and thriving better than in their own land . . . St. Thomas can now boast the best collection of varieties to be found on the Pacific slope, excepting perhaps, one in Sonoma County, California." Bonelli wrote that Colonel Alden A.M.Jackson, who had resided in San Bernardino for many years, was on his way to St. George to gather with the Saints.[35] Then he continued, "Southern Utah is largely indebted to him and his lady for the introduction of the choicest seeds and scions (cuttings) that could be procured in California for many years." Yet Bonelli, with direct bluntness, points out that fruit will be a doubtful crop in the Muddy Valley because many settlers leave after wheat harvest to go north, leaving their fruit trees with no care. Only with proper attention could one expect a bumper crop. He concludes

[31] *Deseret News*, July 7, 1867.
[32] Ibid, January 29, 1868.
[33] *Semi-Weekly Telegraph*, January 20, 1868.
[34] *Deseret News*, April 9, 1868.
[35] Jackson, a veteran of the Mexican War had married Carolyn Perkins Joyce in 1852 in San Bernardino. Carolyn came west in 1846 with her husband, John Joyce, on the ship *Brooklyn*. After settling in Yerba Buena her husband sought for gold and apostatized. She moved to San Bernardino and married Jackson. A beautiful singer, she was known as the "Mormon Nightingale "and had the first melodeon in San Bernardino. Together with her husband they had one of the largest nurseries in San Bernardino and supplied plants and cuttings to northern as well as southern Utah.



MOHAVE MUSEUM OF HISTORY AND ART

The Old Ranch House at Bonelli's Ferry, now under the waters of Lake Mead. From Left to right, Moapa Tom and Wion, Indian ranch hands; Joseph F. Perkins, foreman of the Bonelli Ranch, an unidentified Indian boy; Alice Maud Bonelli, a daughter; Frank Rossitor, prospector, Ann Bonelli, and Daniel Bonelli. The photograph was taken about 1901.

his letter by yearning "for the time when people will not only stay here and labor because they have been required to do so, but because their homes . . . which have been consecrated by their prayers and exalted by their presence . . . [are] reverenced and the God of Israel is adored."[36] For Bonelli, the Muddy settlements were very much a part of "Zion."

By the end of June 1868, Bonelli again wrote to the *Deseret News* to answer the question: "Whether grapes could be successfully grown on the benches around your city?" Designating himself as "one who has traveled through the grape regions of Europe and has made grape culture his specialty in this country," he points out that the northern settlements should try planting the hardy varieties of American grapes, and several varieties from Hungary and other countries of Europe. He mentions that the American varieties of grape should be discarded as soon as European varieties can be had. The Fiher Zagos and Black Hamburg varieties have done very well in St. Thomas and would probably do well in the Salt Lake area. [37] Little did he realize that his simple answer to the above question would trigger "The Great Wine Debate." His formidable opponents were Louis A.

[36] *Deseret News*, May 27, 1868.
[37] Ibid., June 24, 1868.

Bertrand, a convert from France, and his associate, another Frenchman, Peter Droubay, both residing in Tooele.[38] Eventually Daniel was joined and supported by S. Luther Hemenway, horticulturist, from St. George. The debate consisted of thirteen letters—five from Daniel, three from Bertrand, three from Droubay (which Bertrand translated), and two from Hemenway.

In the debate Bonelli refers to Bertrand as one who opposes and contradicts. "My object in writing was to do good. If I have failed, there is an apology due the public, whose time has been claimed. The spirit of controversy for the sake of itself, I believe is . . . inconsistent with the sincere labors of a Saint for the common good, and shall cease my part in it . . . "[39]

The debate lasted over nine months and centered on the premise of whether wines could be produced as well in the south as in the north. It was finally terminated on April 5, 1869, by the editor of the *Deseret News*, George Q. Cannon, who wrote: "We are of the opinion that in a new country like ours, experience will prove a far more reliable teacher than all the essays that can be written. With this view of the case we announce to our readers that this is the last communication, by way of discussion, that we intend on the subject."

Bonelli was aware that in the eyes of many the Muddy Mission was not a popular one, and he sensed that many called to the Muddy were not happy and were anxious to return to the north. He observed:

> The general idea prevailing in Salt Lake about the Muddy is that it is a sort of purgatory or place of punishment, something like the Siberia of the Russians or the Algeria of France, a place no one would occupy if not positively required by irresistible authority . . . But with those who are desirous of redeeming the desert land and submitting it to the rule of Jehovah, consecrated by their prayers and improved by their labors, it is very different.[40]

Brigham Young made his only visit to the Muddy in March 1870. He traveled from St. Thomas to the confluence of the Virgin and Colorado rivers, fully intending to cross the Colorado in a boat that had been especially constructed for his use. Perspiring in the heat, he was not happy with what he saw. Warren Foote, a counselor to James Leithead in the Muddy Mission, said: "President Young was very much disappointed, and refused to cross the river. He said if 'the Gentiles wanted that country they we re

[38] Richard D. McClellan, "Louis A. Bertrand: One of the Most Singular and Romantic Figures of the Age," (Honors Thesis, Brigham Young University, July 2000), v, 1. Bertrand, a native of France and a leader in the Red Republican party before the Revolution of 1848 was also a political editor of the largest communist periodical in France. He was converted by John Taylor, and played a part in translating the Book of Mormon into French. He served as a Mission President in France and applied to Louis Napoleon III for permission to preach. The emperor tore his request to pieces and the mission was closed in 1864. He returned to Utah and settled in Tooele.

[39] Daniel Bonelli to the *Deseret News,* April 14, 1869. Amazingly, while "The Great Wine Debate" was still in progress, Bonelli was able to find time to write lengthy letters to the *Semi Weekly Telegraph* on "Grape Culture, " that were published in the November 5, 12, and 16, 1868, issues. These letters also reveal Bonelli to have a great knowledge of grape culture.

[40] *Deseret News*, April 14, 1869.

welcome to it' . . . it was plain to see that President Young was disappointed in the whole country."[41]

More optimistic than President Young, Bonelli stated two months later: "if ever the Utah Central, or any other iron road, bridges the sandy wastes that intervene between us and the rest of mankind, we will gratify the palates of the epicures with the noble fruit of this clime in exchange for the products of more northern regions." He chided those who came and stayed only a short time declaring, "If those of our brethren . . . had done what they certainly at the time, must have deemed a duty . . . we might by this time have been far enough advanced in prosperity to not only make the navigation of the Colorado a success, but also to wield an influence in favor of the extension of the railroad to the head of navigation."[42] The railroad never came to the head of navigation but did come to Las Vegas in 1905 and a branch line to St. Thomas in 1912.

The summers on the Muddy were unusually oppressive—especially to those not acclimated. The temperature would often reach 120 degrees and on occasion 125 degrees. Such heat led to the first death of a settler by sunstroke. Bonelli wrote that Charles Dannmer Sr. was found dead in the field where he had been irrigating. The "coroner's jury rendered the verdict that the death was caused by sunstroke." Dannmer was fifty-four years of age and had immigrated from England in 1864.[43]

Despite the many climatic problems the most important factor leading to the abandonment of the Muddy Mission was political. In 1862, Congress took one degree of longitude (about fifty miles) from Utah Territory and gave it to Nevada. With the discovery of minerals above the Muddy River at Pioche and Delamar, Congress gave those mines to the state of Nevada in 1866 by adding another degree to the state. In 1867, Nevada was also given a portion of Arizona lying north of the Colorado River. However, the survey was not made until 1870, which revealed that the Mormon settlements of West Point, St. Joseph, Millpoint, Overton, St. Thomas and Junction City were all in Nevada. County tax assessors from Hiko immediately came to the valley and assessed property owners in specie (or coin) not only for the current year but also for the two previous years. Many Muddy settlers were not content in Nevada and were looking for an excuse to leave. Brigham Young, in St. George for the winter and aware of their discouragement, dispatched a letter on December 14 which was read six days later. It stated that the Saints should vote on whether to leave or not. If they voted to stay, however, sufficient numbers should stay so as to make the settlement viable. The letter also suggested that they petition the Nevada Legislature for abatement of back taxes and for the formation of a new county in southern Nevada to be known as Las Vegas

[41] Warren Foote, Autobiography, 92. LDS Church Archives,
[42] *Deseret News*, May 29, 1870.
[43] Ibid, August 3, 1870.

County.[44] This would be done later. When the settlers met and the votes were cast, only Daniel Bonelli and wife Ann, S.M. Anderson, a farmer from Sweden, James Jackson, and Joseph Asay Senior, the latter residing at Junction City, voted to stay. However, all but Daniel and Ann left. By February 20, 1870, the settlers had departed with most of them going to Long Valley in Utah's Kane County.

We have no record of Bonelli's feelings as the last wagons left. With Ann expecting, he was in no position to go and he undoubtedly felt that the valley still had great potential. In later years he would say, "I never left the Church, the Church left me."[45] Considered by some to be an apostate, he "always declared he was a firm believer in the original principles of the Mormon faith."[46] But Bonelli was no longer active in the church. "I have never claimed any allegiance to the Mormon Church during the past thirteen years aforesaid, nor denied the same previously, but I do claim to do all my business in my full name and stand behind all obligations I incur, and I know that many Mormons . . . are incomparably superior in rectitude and veracity to those who contemptuously berate them."[47]

Not content with the actions of Nevada's Lincoln County Commissioners, Bonelli wrote them a letter seeking to enlighten them about the "true state of affairs on the Muddy" and asking the officials to accept from him, "the only remaining early settler, a statement of facts."[48] He then related how the Mormons first came to the valley in 1865 and settled in St. Thomas and St. Joseph; how Pah Ute County had been formed from Mohave County in Arizona Territory; how they had paid their taxes and sent delegates to the legislature; and how "…after the election of November 1870 Governor Safford sent the commission of Probate Judge to J. [James] Leithead and the statutes of Arizona *to me (elected District Attorney*) and no idea ever entered the minds of the people that they were in Nevada…"[49] The taxes for 1870 were assessed and partly collected for Arizona when the rumor came that the county line had been run and the Saints were in Nevada. No notice of the fact was ever officially given, but President Young, at that time in St. George, sent an intimation of it to the settlements together with his advice to abandon the country which was immediately commenced. The summonses of Justice Wandell (an apostate Mormon) were dated February 3, 1871, and delivered about the 15th to the few remaining Saints and posted on a house in deserted St. Joseph.

[44] A county was not formed in Daniel's lifetime; however in 1909 Clark County, taken from the southern half of Lincoln County, was formed by the Nevada Legislature.

[45] The author has heard his grandfather, Ute V. Perkins, make this statement of Daniel Bonelli's many times.

[46] Myrtle T. Myles, *Delamar Lode*, January 4, 1904.

[47] Daniel Bonelli to *Pioche Weekly Record*, April 28, 1883. More precisely Bonelli should have written twelve years as he was active until the Mormons left in 1871.

[48] Daniel Bonelli to the Honorable Board of County Commissioners, Lincoln County, Nevada, August 29, 1871. Published in the *Pioche Weekly Record*.

[49] Italics added by the author. Although elected district attorney he served but one or two months.

" . . . If there had been no demand made for delinquent taxes, no spirit of retaliation manifested, but the past allowed to depart in peace and the reign of Nevada commenced with 1871, there would probably today live in this valley a prosperous and a happy people."[50] During the Mormon occupancy of the valley some 400,000 shade trees, some 60,000 grape-vines and fruit trees were planted and about 5,000 acres of farm land was reclaimed. The aggregate expense for dams and ditches was about $200,000. Although some claims in this letter appear to be exaggerated, no action was taken on this letter by the Lincoln County Commissioners.

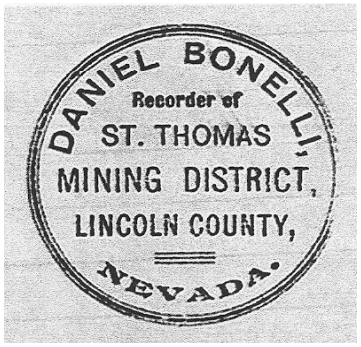
The following year, Bonelli sought to inform the residents of northern Lincoln County of the agricultural potential of the Muddy Valley. In a letter to the *Pioche Daily Record* he wrote:

> Aware of the solid fact that the mining interests of the county are steadily widening and deepening, I would also like your readers to know that there is also an agricultural oasis in these deserts, the productions of which ought at some time or other to become serviceable to the centers of population that cluster around the now flourishing mining camps . . . Lying on the direct and natural thoroughfare from Pioche to the growing mining regions of Arizona, and blessed with a climate that will mature the grape, the fig and pomegranate, it might naturally be supposed to claim some attention and furnish to the toiling miner some of its fruits . . . While the dreary hills of the Sagebrush State yield their precious ores, this valley, the only one that Nevada possesses with a semi-tropical clime, may some day produce much more than it has yet done, the refreshing fruits of the world's summer land.[51]

After the Mormon exodus, the land passed into non-Mormon hands in quarter sections, taken up under the Possessory Act of Nevada.[52] It is not known if Bonelli acquired other land through the Possessory Act or not. He kept busy with his farm, including the vineyards and nursery, but his active mind soon began to look for other means of remuneration. Sparked by the success of the mines in the Pioche area, in Eldorado Canyon, and across the border in Arizona, he began to explore the areas around the Virgin River north of the Colorado River. Bonelli and others who came into the valley after the Mormon exodus, discovered ore, and on January 25, 1873, they organized the St. Thomas Mining District, properly recorded their claims and did the necessary assessment work.[53] This district, with Daniel Bonelli as the recorder until his death, was a few miles east of the town of St. Thomas, on Mount Bonelli, in the Virgin Mountain Range.

In addition to the area's mining potential, Bonelli recognized two other major economic needs for the valley. The first was a ferry to carry travelers and settlers across the Colorado River; and the second was food and salt for the miners to the south at Eldorado Canyon and in Arizona.[54] Only three families lived at the Colorado River during the Mormon occupation when

[50] Thompson and West, *History of the State of Nevada*, 491.
[51] Daniel Bonelli to the *Pioche Daily Record,* November 21, 1872.
[52] Thompson and West, *History of the State of Nevada*, 401.
[53] Ibid. 486.
[54] Smith, "The Colorado River," 425.



OLD LOGANDALE SCHOOL HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL SOCIETY

Daniel Bonelli's stamp as Recorder for the St. Thomas Mining District.

it was known as Junction City. Stone's ferry, three miles below the mouth of the Virgin, was established in about 1871. The Dan Jones party of eighty-three Mormons en route to Arizona in January 1877 used this ferry to cross the Colorado. James Thompson bought out Stone and, in turn, sold the ferry or the rights of it to Bonelli. The 1880 census lists Bonelli and family as living in St. Thomas with a servant, forty-year-old Walter Phelps. Bonelli and Phelps are both listed as ferrymen. Bonelli's Ferry was one-half mile above the Virgin River confluence with the Colorado.[55] With the establishment of a ferry at Rioville, Stone's Ferry was discontinued. Junction City was re-named Rioville and a new era dawned. A post office was established by Bonelli in 1881 with himself as postmaster—a position he held until his death in 1903. The post office survived until 1906. At this location Bonelli planted fields, fruit orchards, vineyards, and a vegetable garden.

Another of Bonelli's economic ventures was salt mining. He described the mountain of salt between St. Thomas and the Colorado River as "solid ledges of great extent, and contain salt enough to run one hundred quartz mills for ten thousand years."[56] Bonelli became a partner with the Southwestern Mining Company of Philadelphia in this mine. In time he would build a mill there, blast the salt free, haul the salt by wagon to the confluence of the Virgin and the Colorado River and from there ship it by river boat and barge to the mills of Eldorado Canyon or freight it to the Arizona mining camps of White Hills, Hackberry, Mineral Park, Chloride and Cerbat where it was used in the roasting and chloridizing of silver ore.

Salt was also freighted by wagon to southern Utah, north to the Pioche area, west to California, south into Arizona, and from there east into New Mexico. Sometimes after freighting to New Mexico, Bonelli would sell his team and wagon and return home by train and/or stage or by horseback.

Riverboat captains, of whom Captain Jack Mellon was one of the most famous, brought their steamers to the mouth of the Virgin during high water season. At the helm of the *Mohave II,* Mellon personally made over twenty trips, the last being in 1890.[57] Flatboats were also poled down river to the mines, laden with salt and supplies, after which the flatboats were broken up and sold for firewood.[58] The Mormon pioneers never succeeded

[55] Dwight L. Smith and C. Gregory Crampton, *Robert D. Stanton and the Denver, Colorado Canyon and Pacific Railroad,* (Salt Lake City and Chicago: Howe Brothers, 1987), 261.

[56] Ibid, 20.

[57] Richard E. Lingenfelter, *Steamboats on the Colorado River, 1852-1916*, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1978), 53

[58] Ibid, 68.

in having riverboats come to the mouth of the Virgin, and only a few riverboats made it to Callville, twenty miles downstream. Bonelli's daring and solid business acumen accomplished this feat and established Rioville as the head of navigation on the Colorado River.

After an absence of ten years, in 1880 Mormons from St. George again began to settle the Muddy Valley. Martha Cragun Cox, plural wife of Isaiah Cox, was hired by school district trustees in the fall of 1881 to teach school in Overton.[59] This excellent school teacher and diarist recorded that year: "Mr. Bonelli (Daniel) an old apostate living at the Col. River crossing—owning boats there began to threaten Mrs. Whitmore and son Brig that he would take the water from the Muddy valley lands. He was living in St. Thomas when the Mormons moved away. He declared he had bought the larger part of the Muddy stream. But he did not intimidate them."[60] This conflict is noted in light of water problems which would occur many years later for Bonelli.

By January 1883, Mrs. Cox was able to declare: "In the little town of Overton we are all Mormons, now!"[61] Her final relevant diary entry was made in 1884 when she stated: "Daniel Bonelli's children came [to] board with me that winter – George, Ben [Benjamin Franklin or Frank] and Isabelle."[62]

Following his move to Rioville, Bonelli first built a cabin of driftwood logs which was later used as a bunk house for his employees. In time he built a nine-room home with rock walls two feet thick and a fireplace in each room. The stone walls were laid in lime mortar by an expert mason from St. George and the house cost nine thousand six hundred dollars, an extravagant sum for that day.[63] In addition to this home he had a two-room adobe granary and two chicken houses made of logs. For his farm and ranch help he employed drifters, down-and-outers as well as local Indians, and young men from the Virgin and Muddy Valleys.

A progressive man, Bonelli introduced a grass that he read about in a farm journal. Johnson grass was reputed to be very hardy and could withstand drought and almost any condition. Bonelli sent for seed and planted some on his Rioville farm. He soon learned that the grass was poor feed; in fact, it was more like a weed than an edible grass. The best use for it was in his dams in the Virgin River where its thick root system was a great asset. It quickly spread up the valley.[64]

By 1884, Bonelli's accomplishments were extensive. His farm alone contained "about three hundred and twenty acres of patented land on the

[59] Ute Warren Perkins was one of the Trustees.

[60] Martha Cragun Cox, Diary, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, 156.

[61] Ibid., 168.

[62] Ibid., 175.

[63] George Bonelli to Harry Howell, Overton, Nevada, June 1, 1929. Copy in author's possession.

[64] Orville Perkins, *Hookey Beans and Willows*, (St. George: The Art Press, n.d.).

Colorado River about where the Virgin River joins the Colorado River and part of the land is on one side of the Virgin River and the other part of the land is on the other side of the Virgin River but it is all on the Nevada side of the Colorado River."[65] One observer noted that his ranch was over the Colorado River and extended ninety-five miles to the border of Kingman, Arizona.[66]

Edward Syphus wrote an enthusiastic description of Bonelli's holdings in February 1884:

> ... first I would call your attention to the large alfalfa field on that fertile flat just north and near the bank of the Colorado—with long ricks of hay near the center of the field. At the east of this field we would cross the mouth of the Virgin River just before it emptied into the Colorado—and there we would see the very productive fig orchard, the vineyard with many choice varieties of grapes, the long row of pomegranates, the olive trees, the asparagus patch, and nearer the family home, the kitchen garden.
>
> There was the cow under the shed that furnished butter and milk for the family, the horse stables where rested the ranch horses every night and including Sundays. And the blacksmith shop where the farm machinery was repaired—and then the bunkhouse for the hired men, where they rested after supper reading, playing cards, or singing some of the old songs while picking the banjo. And there was the large stone dwelling house where Mr. Bonelli and wife lived for so many years with their children . . . And we might also see many freight wagons both on the Arizona and Nevada banks of the Colorado waiting their turn to be ferried across.[67]

Seeking to build up his ferry business, Bonelli wrote a letter to Mormon President John Taylor in 1885. Addressing the church leader as Honorable John Taylor, he solicited business for his ferry from Mormon settlers bound for Arizona or Mexico. He pointed out that he had the "best ferry over the Colorado for all stages of water and all seasons, as well as the most practicable roads for all kinds of teams . . ." He further stated that "he had a good farm here and its products, furthest on the route from home supplies would be a consideration in favor of this route and you can be certain that I will do all in my power to facilitate their journey . . . and my word has not been doubted as yet by either church members or strangers."[68]

In 1889 Bonelli wrote to the Secretary of the Interior promoting the area along the Colorado River as one that resembled southern California where semi-tropical fruits ripened to perfection.[69] He reported that the very best heavy wines and raisins would be produced and the best figs grown, including the newly imported and yet rare Adriatic and Smyrna varieties. Alfalfa required five to six cuttings in a season, and cotton and cane would set a factory and a sugar refinery in operation. These things

[65] Ibid.

[66] Lips, "Daniel Bonelli of Bussnang."

[67] Edward Syphus, "Lincoln's Rain Dance in Nevada—in Clark [Lincoln] County, Nevada," February 1884, Church Archives. Clark County did not become a county until July 1, 1909.

[68] Daniel Bonelli to President John Taylor, January 24, 1885, LDS Church Archives.

[69] Daniel Bonelli to Secretary of the Interior, June 12, 1889, found in "Report of the Secretary of the Interior, *Messages and Documents* (1889), 365-67.

could happen if an associated or cooperative effort was made to improve irrigation systems. Bonelli pointed out that if an adequate transportation system were available, millions of tons of rock salt could be shipped to where it was needed, and borax soda, sulphur, magnesite, plaster of Paris or gypsum, and many other substances would be available and yield their revenues to the nation. It seemed to Bonelli that it was a mockery to let the Treasury surplus become such a serious trouble to the nation when the release of a small fraction of it might do so much for the reclaiming of desert lands and the beautifying of the public domain.

The economic reality came a step closer in 1890 when Robert D. Stanton made a trip along the Colorado River to survey for a railroad. Stanton was employed by Frank M. Brown, president of the Denver, Colorado Canyon and Pacific Railroad Company to conduct a preliminary survey for a railroad route from Grand Junction, Colorado, along the Colorado River and through the Grand Canyon to the Gulf of California and San Diego. Stanton records his stop at Scanlon's Ferry, nine miles below Pearce's Ferry on March 17. The next day at 4:00 p.m., his party landed at ". . . Bonelli's Ferry about 1/2 mile above mouth of Virgin. We met . . . Daniel Bonelli, Rioville, Nevada. Raises grapes (10 acres), limes, pomegranates, figs, almonds, pears, peaches, plums, nectarines. Bonelli says he produces as good wine as can be made in Europe." On March 19 Stanton records: "Mr. Bonelli is very much interested in the railroad prospects. He is recorder for this mining district [St. Thomas mining district] and promises to send me a statement of the resources of this section, etc."[70]

In addition to his farming and ranching, Bonelli also claimed several mines including the Virgin Queen a salt mine, and the Czarina a mica mine. Bonelli and his partners in the Southwest Mining Company were threatened with the loss of their salt mines when the federal land commissioner ruled in March 1893, according to the editor of the *Pioche Weekly Record,* "that no law exists under which title to salt licks, springs or deposits can be acquired. The policies of the government ever since its inception has been to keep all salt deposits open to the public. This ruling falls hard on those who have held the salt mines in the county for so many years and who have expended large amounts of money in opening them up and in endeavoring to perfect their titles."[71] However in 1901 provision was made by law which enabled salt deposits to be patented. Bonelli was forced to take to court men who had located over his original claims resulting in a preliminary victory for him two years later.[72] In November 1903, he made his last trip to Pioche where a favorable settlement of these litigation claims took place.

Bonelli had discovered mica fifteen miles northeast of Rioville in 1901.

[70] Smith and Crampton, *Robert D. Stanton,* 258-62.
[71] *Pioche Weekly Record*, March 16, 1893.
[72] Ibid., January 23, 1903.

He had "bonded his mica claims to Salt Lake parties for $10,000, final payment to be made by the first of November next . . . It is from these claims that the sheets of mica displayed here a year or two ago, measuring upwards of six inches square were taken."[73]

Bonelli was prominent in local educational matters and served on the Nevada State Board of Agriculture. He attended the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 and the San Francisco Mid–Winter Fair in 1894 where he displayed grapes, lime, peaches, and almonds which he had grown at Rioville. He also displayed one-foot square translucent blocks of his famous salt as well as sheets of mica from his mine in the St. Thomas Mining District.[74] Bonelli also served as a voluntary weather observer reporting the daily high and low temperatures to the United States Weather Bureau.

Following the resettlement along the Muddy River north of Bonelli's holdings, a conflict developed over Bonelli's claim to primal water rights from that river as well as to water from the Virgin River now being taken by settlers up stream. The meager amount that reached Rioville was not sufficient to irrigate Bonelli's alfalfa fields, fruit trees, vineyards, and gardens during the hot summer months. Negotiations with his neighbors proved futile and Bonelli took his case to court. The *Pioche Weekly Record* reported on October 14, 1899, that "DN Bonelli, of Rioville has commenced suit against the residents of St. Thomas and Overton for $3,000 damages and also for an order restraining them from using any part of 400 inches of water which he claims is his, and has been since 1872."[75] A month later the district court, sitting without a jury, denied Bonelli's claim to the four hundred inches of water, awarding instead only sixty inches of water and the cost of the suit.[76] Sixty inches of water would hardly supply Bonelli's farming needs and the decision marked the beginning of the end of his agricultural empire as hard feelings continued between Bonelli and his upstream neighbors.

Some felt that Bonelli was a little eccentric. As he grew older he hated to be told that he was getting old. Once a youth asked him, "Old man how far is it to Stone's Crossing?" Looking him up and down Bonelli answered, "Three miles and if you call me old man again I'll throw you in the river."[77] One of his quirks was that he liked butter without salt. Ann, on churning butter, would set a small portion aside for Daniel before adding salt to the rest. "She often told him that he owned more salt than any man in the southwest and that he ought to use just a little of it."[78]

The death of Ute Warren Perkins in the spring of 1903 was an occasion

[73] Ibid, March 29, 1901.
[74] Phillip I. Earl, "Bonelli Saw Potential of Colorado River," *Las Vegas Review-Journal,* April 27, 1967.
[75] *Pioche Weekly Record,* October 14, 1899.
[76] Ibid, November 16, 1899.
[77] Perkins, *Hookey Beans*, 12.
[78] Ibid.

MOHAVE MUSEUM OF HISTORY AND ART

Bonelli's Ferry at Rioville.

for Bonelli to articulate his philosophy of life in an eloquent letter to the Perkins family.

> Out of the unfathomable abyss of eternity come our destinies, thence flow also our hopes and aspirations, and in that realm so far off and yet so near to the human heart and its in most feelings, we alone find the strength to carry our burdens….Those who have gone before us in their onward march of progress to a higher class in the school of eternity have found what we are unable to see, and the bitterness of our sorrows will not comfort, hence let it work in us as a purifier only, and it heal as soon as it may be possible.[79]

The twentieth century brought new changes and challenges. River freight had all but disappeared and the ferry business was almost at a standstill. With a reduced water supply his alfalfa did poorly and grape production had all but stopped. Bonelli leased the ferry, his ranch and his holdings for one year, but the operator could not make a profit and Bonelli had to run it again in 1902. It was then leased to another operator who left after a short time. In November 1903 he returned to Pioche where he settled his business and put his affairs in order. Returning to St. Thomas on the sixteenth, he rested a day with his son Frank and then started for Rioville. En route he apparently suffered a stroke, arriving at Rioville the next day confused and claiming that he had been lost in the hills four or five days. During the next few weeks he continued to decline mentally and physically and passed away on December 20, 1903. His family honored his wish to be buried on a low mesa overlooking his beloved home on the Colorado River.[80]

[79] Letter in author's possession.

[80] Daniel Bonelli, Obituary *Delamar Lode*, January 4, 1904. Delamar, Nevada, was a mining town fifty-five miles southwest of Pioche and published a newspaper from 1895 until 1906.

His cherished companion Ann lived for a while with her daughter Alice and son-in-law Joseph F. Perkins in Overton. Upon the death of Alice, she moved to Kingman, Arizona, to live with her son George where she died on March 19, 1911.

Bonelli's son Frank ran the ferry for a short time but one night in 1904, during the high water season, the ferry broke its moorings and floated down the river to break up in the rapids. Without Bonelli's guiding genius it did not take long for what was left of his flourishing farm, ranch, and ferry business to disappear.

As a memorial to Bonelli, Bonelli's Peak near the southern extremity of the Bunkerville range is named after him. In the Lake Mead Recreational District along the Colorado River, geographical landmarks such as Bonelli's Bay, Napoleon's Tomb, the Mormon Temple and Temple Bar were all named by, or for, Bonelli. Unwittingly, the United States Government would rob Bonelli of his final resting place. In 1934, as the government relocated all the graves that would be inundated by the waters of Lake Mead, Bonelli's remains were disinterred and removed to Kingman, Arizona, where he was buried next to his faithful English bride, Ann Haigh Bonelli.[81] Today Lake Mead has buried any evidence that Bonelli ever existed in St. Thomas or at the mouth of the Virgin. In Overton, Nevada, a single street bears his name.

[81] *Las Vegas Review Journal*, November 24, 1934.

The Quest to Become Chief of Police: The Illustrious Career of George Augustus Sheets

By DOUGLAS K. MILLER

UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

In the early months of 1890, every member of the Salt Lake Police Department tendered his resignation.[1] A force comprised mostly, if not exclusively, of Mormons was replaced by thirty six men—all of whom were either apostates or anti-Mormons. The change resulted from the 1889 municipal election, wherein for the first time in the history of the city, the all-Mormon Peoples Party lost to the anti-Mormon Liberals. More Mormons than gentiles lived in Salt Lake City at the time, but as a result of the 1887 Edmunds-Tucker Law, designed to end polygamy, numerous Mormon voters had been disenfranchised.[2]

When the Mormons first arrived in what would become Salt Lake City in 1847, they made no attempt to create a government separate from the church. The only authority recognized by the people was that of the church and any breach of conduct or any dispute between parties was handled by ***George Augustus Sheets.***

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[1] City Council Records, Book "L," p. 502, cited in Herbert Lester Gleason, "The Salt Lake Police Department: 1851-1949, A Social History," (Master's thesis, University of Utah, 1950), 72.

[2] The word gentile in the Mormon lexicon means a person who is not now and has never been a Mormon. A person who was once a Mormon but left the church is an apostate. A Jew, unless also a Mormon, in the Mormon vocabulary is a gentile.

ecclesiastical leaders.[3] The arrival of the gentiles in Utah made a continuation of this religious-governmental structure untenable. To counteract this Mormon influence, the gentiles formed an anti-Mormon political party—the Liberals. The Mormons responded with the creation of their own political party—the Peoples Party.

The antagonism between the two groups stemmed from, or at least focused on, the Latter-day Saint practice of plural marriage, first publicly acknowledged by Mormons in 1852. Ten years later Congress passed the Morrill Anti-bigamy Act a law upheld as constitutional in the *Reynolds* decision of 1878. Mormons refused to give up the practice, however, even in the face of more stringent anti-polygamy legislation—the Edmunds Act in 1882 and the Edmunds-Tucker Act in 1887—arguing that compliance with laws of God superseded any fealty to the laws of man. This resistance cost Mormons their most basic civil rights as American citizens. In a test oath administered at the polls, anyone who disagreed with the Edmunds-Tucker law was not allowed to vote—a circumstance which resulted in the Liberal victory in Salt Lake City in 1890.

This article reviews the tumultuous law enforcement career of George Augustus Sheets in the Salt Lake Police Department beginning with the rise of the Liberal Party in 1890 and ending with the demise of the American Party (a reiteration of Liberal Party) in 1910. In the broader context of American history, this timeframe is often referred to as the Progressive Era—a time when reformers focused on government intervention to eliminate social evils in the United States.

Fifty-eight thousand people lived in Salt Lake City by 1890, and the city had grown into a thriving commercial metropolis with the same problems that concerned reformers in many other American cities—gambling, saloons that stayed open on Sundays, and prostitution, the latter having long been an element in the conflict between Mormons and gentiles.

According to one early Utah historian there was little, if any, prostitution in Utah before the gentiles arrived. "Until gentiles settled in Salt Lake City there was seldom heard in its streets or dwellings oaths, imprecations, or expletives; there was no harlotry, and there was neither political or judicial prostitution. The Mormons were a people singularly free from vice…."[4]

Mormons held that prostitution could be eliminated by providing honorable marriages to all women through polygamy while gentiles asserted, through the pages of the anti-Mormon *Salt Lake Tribune*, that one was just like the other except the one involved multiple women and the other multiple men.[5]

[3] Gleason, "The Salt Lake Police Department"7-13.

[4] Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Utah*, 1540-1886 (San Francisco: The History Company, Publishers, 1889), 686-87.

[5] *Salt Lake Tribune*, August 31, 1872.

The anti-Mormon Liberals were steadfast against plural marriage but were not in any other sense reformers. Indeed, when they took control of the municipal government in 1890, they made Commercial Street—the hub of Salt Lake's tenderloin district—the first street in Salt Lake City to be paved.[6] They also restructured the police department and among the new officers hired that year was George Augustus Sheets.

Little is known about Sheets before he became a policeman. Sheets was born in 1864 in Salt Lake City. His parents were probably Mormons, having emigrated from Pennsylvania in 1858. Sheets wife, Henrietta Gunn, was also most likely a Mormon, having crossed the plains in a handcart company.[7] But if Sheets did issue from Mormon stock, his appointment to the city's police department by the Liberals in 1890, strongly suggests that he had strayed from his Mormon beginnings.

The first annual police report after the Liberal Party takeover, acknowledged a "want of harmony" within the department. A group of men with no prior law enforcement experience had been granted the authority to regulate an enterprise which was illegal and the opportunities for graft seem to have pitted individuals within the force against one another. The report also stated:

> [W]e do find that profane language is used to a great extent by all the force, with very few exceptions, also that there appears to be a disposition on the part of the force to battle back and forth one to another anything that has been said or overheard by some brother officer. This has created ill feeling and jealousy that should not exist in a well disciplined force . . .[8]

The "want of harmony" gave birth to a petition, signed by twenty-five officers, who asked for the removal of harsh disciplinarian Captain William B. Parker from the force. In retaliation, Parker attempted to kill one of the petitioners, George Albright, but Parker's gun misfired and Albright shot Parker instead. When Parker died the action was ruled as self-defense.[9]

A year later, a prostitute named Rose Miller accused Albright of trying to make her his private mistress, spurring a contingent of city councilmen to conduct a furtive late-night tour of the brothels in July 1892.[10] At Hattie Wilson's place, a prominent house of prostitution located on Franklin Street, in Salt Lake's colored district, the councilmen found Chief of Police Ed Janney, Sergeant George A. Sheets, and Police Court Justice Frederick Kessler. All of them had been drinking, some were dancing, and according

[6] *Salt Lake Herald*, July 1, 1890, and *Deseret News*, November 11, 1890. A local legend holds that the Liberals paved it so wives would not find the telltale red dirt of the street on their husbands' shoes and trouser cuffs. See Jeffrey Nichols, *Prostitution, Polygamy, and Power, Salt Lake City, 1847-1918* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 128.

[7] "George Sheets" *Biographical Record of Salt Lake and Vicinity, Containing Biographies of Well Known Citizens of the Past and the Present* (Chicago: National Historical Record Co., 1902), 595.

[8] Committee Report, Salt Lake Recorder's Office, August 11, 1891, 76.

[9] *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 2, November 27, 1891; Salt Lake City Council Minutes, Book N, p. 127, September 1, 1891.

[10] *Deseret News*, June 18, 1891.

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Four members of the Salt Lake City Police Department about 1900. Standing, left to right, Ed Lang and Billy McCurty and George Raleigh, seated on the left next to an unidentified man.

to the *Tribune,* even the councilmen "had a good time but wanted to keep it quiet." Justice Kessler raised his glass when he saw the councilmen saying, "I plead guilty to the charge and will fine myself $25.00."[11]

An outraged Mayor Robert N. Baskin scored the councilmen, fired Sheets and Janney, and probably would have fired Kessler, too, but lacked the authority. Civil War veteran Samuel Paul was named the new chief of police, and a month later reinstated both Sheets and Janney as patrolmen.[12] The following year in October 1893, Paul promoted Sheets to detective.[13]

The animosity that had existed between Mormons and gentiles by this time had begun to wane, however. One critical step toward easing hostilities was the Manifesto, issued in 1890 by church president Wilford Woodruff, advising all Mormons to obey the law of the land with regard to polygamy. One year later, the People's Party disbanded and the Liberal Party followed suit in 1893. Both Mormons and gentiles subsequently joined the two national parties, becoming Republicans or Democrats. Most Mormons became Democrats, as their struggle with the federal government for nearly a half-century had been a struggle against Republican administrations.

Republican support was essential, however, to Utah's bid for statehood. A Republican controlled Congress would never admit Utah into the Union if it tipped the balance of power toward the Democrats. To achieve state-

[11] *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 7, 1892. Franklin Street was located between 200 and 300 South Streets and between State and 200 East Streets.

[12] *Salt Lake Tribune*, August 17, 1892.

[13] The date Sheets was appointed a detective is noted in "Salt Lake Police Department," published in 1901 by the Deseret News, p. 77.

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Thomas H. Hilton, Salt Lake City Chief of Police in 1899.

hood, therefore, some Mormons had to reorient their politics toward their old adversary.

To bring some Mormons into the Republican tent, Mormon church leaders such as Joseph F. Smith, Francis M. Lyman, and John Henry Smith traveled throughout the state telling people that it was possible to be a good Mormon and a Republican.[14] The campaign was largely successful and in an ironic twist of logic, the Republican Congress viewed this ecclesiastical intervention to get members to change their political affiliation as an acceptable means to achieve the desired separation between church and state.[15] Utah was admitted into the Union in January 1896 on her seventh attempt for statehood in forty-six years. The achievement represented the first time Mormons and gentiles had worked together for a common goal and marked the beginning of a new "Era of Good Feelings."

Even during this time of good feelings, however, there was turmoil within Salt Lake City government. In concert with the reforms of the Progressive Era, Salt Lake City Mayor James Glendinning fired Chief of Police Arthur Pratt in December 1896 for Pratt's failure to close the brothels. A son of Apostle Parley P. Pratt and a member of the Republican Party, Chief Pratt argued that the mayor had no authority to fire him. That authority rested with the Board of Police and Fire Commissioners who had instructed Pratt to leave the brothels open. Pratt appealed his dismissal to the state's Supreme Court, which sided with Pratt and ordered his reinstatement.[16] The next mayor, John Clark, elected in 1897, allowed the charter of the Board of Police and Fire Commissioners to expire, which gave him the power to fire Pratt two years later.[17]

George Sheets had nine years of police experience at this juncture, as much as any other man in the department, but with another election just five months away he was dubious about seeking the position of chief of police. In Salt Lake City, as elsewhere across the country, political appoint-

[14] There was opposition to this effort that came most notably from Apostle Moses Thatcher and Brigham H. Roberts of the First Council of the Seventy. See Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986) 7-10.

[15] See George Ellsworth, "Utah's Struggle for Statehood," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 31 (Winter 1963): 60-69.

[16] *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 3, 1897. For more information on Arthur Pratt, see Richard S. Van Wagoner and Mary Van Wagoner, "Arthur Pratt, Utah Lawman," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 55 (Winter 1987): 22-35.

[17] *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 17, 1897, and February 25, 1898.

ments were made on the basis of political patronage. A position like chief of police was a reward for party loyalty, for corralling votes in an election. "Whoever the new Chief may be," wrote the *Salt Lake Tribune* on April 2, 1899, "he will probably be only a makeshift until after the next election."[18]

Thomas Heddock Hilton, Salt Lake City Chief of Police in 1900.

The "makeshift" chief of police was Thomas Heddock Hilton, only twenty-eight years old, and, according to the *Tribune,* "the youngest man in the country . . . [to] occupy a similar position in a city of the size and importance of Salt Lake."[19] Hilton was also a Mormon, the first Mormon to be appointed chief since the Liberal Party takeover of the city a decade earlier. Hilton had only three years police experience when appointed as chief.

Five months later, in the municipal election of 1899, Ezra Thompson, a Liberal turned Republican, was elected mayor.[20] Sheets, a friend, had worked for Thompson's election; Hilton had not, and it thus seemed likely that Thompson would want Sheets as his chief of police, if Hilton could first be gotten out of the way.

At a time when political patronage was the norm, Hilton did not dole out police positions based on party loyalty but strove to build a police force based on merit. He insisted that "religion or politics would cut no figure with him," and according to one contemporary writer, he kept his word.[21] Salt Lake City police historian C. E. Carpenter wrote of the city's police

[18] Political patronage in Salt Lake City was becoming a common practice. Following the election of 1898, David S. Emery, an ex-city recorder delivered scores of Republican votes to Mayor John Clark and was rewarded for his service by being made a policeman. Jim Williams, Utah's champion heavyweight pugilist, used his celebrity to bring in votes and was also made a policeman, as was Joe Barlow, a son-in-law of Mayor Clark. None of these men had any police experience but each displaced a man who had. See *Salt Lake Herald*, May 1, 1898.

[19] *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 5, 1899.

[20] Ezra Thompson, like George Sheets, probably came from Mormon stock. Thompson was born in 1850 in Salt Lake City to millwright Ezra Thompson. See Margaret D. Lester, *Brigham Street* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1979), 106. His association with the Liberal Party and, later, the American Party suggest that he, too, had strayed from the faith.

[21] *Deseret News*, April 6, 1899.

department that it was " made up of an equal number of Mormons and Gentiles, Republicans and Democrats . . . chosen for their fitness for the positions alone. Beyond this, nothing more was asked. The department is out of politics. . . ."[22]

Another contemporary chronicler concurred and wrote of Hilton, that "Under his administration the greatest harmony is prevalent among the men he has around him... The men know that their resignations will never be requested in the future at the whim of a political boss...as long as they behave themselves...."[23]

A benchmark of the Progressive Era was the call for social reform through government action. In Salt Lake City this call came from the Moral Reform League which urged the passage of seven progressive ordinances in 1901: (1) close saloons on Sundays; (2) close gambling houses; (3) prohibit the sale of liquor to minors; (4) restrict minors from entering saloons or billiard halls; (5) prohibit the sale of tobacco products to minors; (6) prohibit baseball and football games on Sunday; (7) seek a stricter police supervision of certain rooming houses, "with the object of abating the evils therein prevalent."[24]

Ezra Thompson ran a campaign for re-election on all of the League's reforms, except the prohibition of baseball and football games on Sundays. With this platform he garnered wide support from Salt Lake City's religious community (Mormon and non-Mormon) and won a second term. He then summoned Hilton to his office and asked the chief to resign.

"I asked the mayor what the trouble was," Hilton told the *Deseret News*, "and he said there was no trouble, that he had nothing against me, had no charges to make, but that there were men who, in his judgment, were more capable of managing the affairs of the department." The *Deseret News* also reported that "It has been known for several days that Detective Sheets is out for the job, and it is known that he personally so informed Chief Hilton one day this week."[25]

When Hilton refused to resign, Thompson tried to fire him but, without a majority vote of approval from the city council, could not do so. Though political parties formed along religious lines had disbanded, religious affiliation continued to play a political role.

Republicans controlled the city council eleven to four, but of the eight Republicans, the four who were Mormons voted consistently with the four Democrats, three of whom were Mormon, forming an alliance the newspapers called "the solid eight."[26] During the early months of 1902, this coalition consistently blocked Mayor Thompson's effort to fire Chief Hilton. As the controversy raged, the newspapers focused on Thompson's

[22] A. G. Conklin, comp., *Souvenir History of Salt Lake Fire Department, 1852 to August 1901* (Salt Lake City: Press of Deseret News, 1901), 77.

[23] Salt Lake Police Department, 1901, printed by the *Deseret News*, p. 102-103.

[24] *Deseret News*, October 28, 1901.

[25] *Deseret News*, November 23, 1901.

[26] *Deseret News*, April 2, 1902.

campaign pledge to close the saloons on Sunday, a pledge Hilton was charged with fulfilling but could not bring to pass.[27]

Within the police force, signs of enmity between Hilton and Sheets were becoming apparent. During the trial of James Lynch and Robert L. King for killing gambling house proprietor Godfrey Prowse in late 1900, Sheets testified that he had found some guns, possibly the murder weapons, in a nearby alley. Hilton knew better, that someone else had found the guns, and on the witness stand contradicted his own detective.[28] The following year, at the height of the most sensational murder investigation Salt Lake City had ever seen; Hilton, in a show of no confidence, took Sheets off of the case.[29] In these two murder cases, several elements of Sheets' personality were also revealed. In the first case Robert L. King, arrested by Sheets for murder and sentenced to die, was saved from the executioner when two key witnesses against him changed their stories. One suggested that "someone" had pressured him to testify as he had, while the other disappeared for a time because, according to the *Deseret News,* "a certain person had induced him to leave town so that the papers could not be served upon him."[30] From prison King implicated Sheets for his wrongful conviction, saying, "You wait and see, the proof will come out, and when Detective Sheets gets his just dues, it will be him on this hill making socks."[31]

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The corner of Salt Lake City's Commercial Street and 100 South looking east to State Street, September 23, 1909.

[27] See *Deseret News*, January 6, 13, March 3, 8, 28, 1902; *Salt Lake Herald*, January 13, March 23, 1902; *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 17, March 3, 11, 29, 1902.

[28] *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 6, 1900, Criminal Case Files, microfilm, Series 1471, Reel 14, Charge Number 879, Utah State Archives.

[29] *Salt Lake Herald*, December 30, 1901. Peter Mortensen, an active Mormon, was accused of killing his neighbor, James R. Hay, and burying the body in a field, a crime District Court Judge Nielsen called "the most dark and deep laid ever recorded in the criminal annals of this State." See *Salt Lake Herald*, January 29, 1902.

[30] See the affidavit of William Wittenberg in the *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 21, 1902, and *Deseret News*, February 21, 1902.

[31] *Salt Lake Herald*, February 18, 1902. Many inmates in Utah's state prison were engaged in making socks. See *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 31, 1900. After spending three years in the Sugarhouse Prison on "murderers' row," King was granted a new trial and released, see *Salt Lake Herald*, November 19, 1903, and *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 19, 1903. For a complete description of the case against Robert L. King and his co-defendant James Lynch see David L. Buhler, "The Peculiar Case of James Lynch and Robert L. King, *Utah Historical Quarterly* 60 (Spring 1992): 100-123.

SHELER COLLECTION, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Three of Salt Lake City's finest mounted policemen, 1905.

In the second case, a *Herald* report showed Sheets grandstanding for a crowd as he glibly interrogated murder suspect, Peter Mortensen, accused of leading a neighbor into a field at night and shooting him in the head to steal a receipt. Sheets, accompanied by a number of curious on-lookers, led Mortensen along the railroad tracks to the place where bloodstains indicated the site of the murder. "A pleasant promenade," Sheets said to Mortensen. "Have you ever enjoyed it by moonlight?"[32]

On February 4, 1902, at the height of Mayor Thompson's effort to fire Hilton, Hilton fired Sheets instead, along with former chief of police, Ed Janney and a younger man, John David Brown. The city council sustained the dismissals, "solid eight" to seven. [33]

Hilton thus rooted out his detractors within the department but was left with three vacancies which Mayor Thompson, by virtue of his veto, refused to let him fill.[34] This further impaired Hilton's efforts to close the saloons on Sundays and according to the *Herald*, Salt Lake's Democratic newspaper, criminals from all parts of the country flocked to Salt Lake City to take advantage of the inadequate police protection.[35]

By May of 1902, the political in-fighting between a Republican mayor, a Republican dominated city council, and a Republican chief of police threatened other Republican candidates in the fall election, not the least of which was an aspirant to the United States Senate, Mormon Apostle Reed Smoot.

In an attempt to resolve the crisis, a church general authority, Seymour B. Young, met with Hilton and told him, "You may be called on again as missionary to accompany Apostle Heber J. Grant when he goes to Japan." Hilton apparently saw the call as less than a blessing, telling the *Herald*, "I ought not be required to make such a sacrifice at this time, after having

[32] *Salt Lake Herald*, December 20, 1901. For a complete description of the Peter Mortensen case see Craig L. Foster, "The Sensational Murder of James R. Hay and the Trial of Peter Mortensen," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 65 (Winter 1997): 25-47.

[33] *Salt Lake Herald*, February 5, 1902.

[34] *Salt Lake Herald*, March 6, 1902.

[35] *Salt Lake Herald*, May 1, 2, and 6, 1902.

served three years and a half doing missionary work in the Pacific Islands. I would rather resign my office, if this is the object sought, than go on the mission." He turned in his unqualified resignation and "the call to the land of the Mikado was withdrawn."[36]

Republican Senator Thomas Kearns, Apostle Smoot, and several city councilmen met to discuss Hilton's successor. They consulted with church president Joseph F. Smith, who "advised that a non-Mormon ought to be appointed for the reason that several ministers of local denominational churches would not then have the opportunity to attack leaders of the Mormon Church if . . . the new appointee failed to satisfactorily execute the law against the Sunday liquor traffic and other evils."[37]

It was clear Mayor Thompson wanted Sheets as police chief, but it was also clear that the "solid eight" would never confirm him. As a compromise, the mayor submitted the name of the perennial compromise candidate, sixty-four-year-old Samuel Paul. Paul had served two previous terms as chief of police, each time when his predecessor had been fired. He served as chief from 1893 to 1894 when Mayor Baskin fired Ed Janney and again in 1898 when Mayor James Glendinning fired Arthur Pratt. Paul's third appointment as chief came in May 1902 and one month later he proposed that Sheets be reinstated. It was Paul who had rehired Sheets in 1892 and who had promoted Sheets to detective in 1893.

When Sheets' name was considered for reappointment in 1902, City Councilman Alexander Robertson referred to Sheets as "a terror to evil-doers and one of the most efficient officers that ever served this city. [Alan] Pinkerton considers George Sheets the most expert criminal taker west of the Mississippi."[38] The "solid eight" rejected Robertson's argument, but Sheets' was given another less important position as the city's sewer inspector.[39]

The pressure to close the saloons on Sundays did not subside when Samuel Paul became chief of police. Paul was conspicuously ineffectual in this regard, however, spurring the *Deseret News* to ask, "Can it be that the saloon element is stronger than the law-supporting public sentiment? Is it powerful enough to bid defiance to the rest of the people? If so, the question naturally suggests itself. In what does its strength consist? What is the secret of its influence?"[40]

The answer may have been that Paul's failure was by design. To appease one portion of the mayor's constituency—the city's religious community—

[36] *Salt Lake Herald*, May 7, 8, 1902. Hilton had previously served a mission to the Samoan islands.

[37] *Salt Lake Herald*, May 7, 1902.

[38] *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 24, 1902. Alan Pinkerton was the most famous detective of the era, notable for pursuing Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid all the way to Argentina and Bolivia. The Pinkerton Detective Agency was involved in some of the nation's best known union conflicts including the Molly Maguires in Pennsylvania and the trial of Big Bill Haywood for the murder of Idaho Governor Frank Steunenburg and was often employed by the United States government.

[39] *Deseret News*, June 24, 1902, *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 24, 1902.

[40] *Deseret News*, June 10, 1902.

Paul had to appear to be trying to stop the flow of liquor on Sundays, but to sustain the support of another constituency—the saloon men and libertine gentiles—Paul wasn't supposed to succeed. It was a tenuous balance and because continued stories in the press about open saloons or gambling threatened to disrupt the equilibrium, Chief Paul took steps to control information to the press. "You are not to tell anything to the newspapers concerning the department," he told the men under his command, ". . . under penalty of probable dismissal."[41]

In spite of these efforts, two incidents in December 1902 would prove to be Paul's undoing. On December 14, 1902, a minor named Daniel Ryan was found dead in an outhouse off Victoria Alley—the colored tenderloin district—after a prostitute, hoping to rob him, put too much morphine in his beer.[42] A week later, a thirty-two year old sixth-grade schoolteacher Anna D. Hill, died in a physician's office, after "a criminal operation" had been performed. The city, some claimed, had become "the worst city in the country," a "cesspool of iniquity," and the *Herald*, through a series of investigative reports, rallied the community against Chief Paul.[43] The *Herald* advised Salt Lake citizens not to count on the city police force for protection but to look instead to a private detective agency.

> With all sincerity, The Herald wishes the new detective firm of Sheets and Raleigh a full measure of success. The senior partner is George A. Sheets, justly termed by no less an authority than W. A. Pinkerton [as] the best detective west of the Missouri River. . . .
>
> The Herald feels that the people of Salt Lake are entitled to congratulations on the organization of this agency. Since Chief Paul and his merry men have showed their utter incompetence to prevent crime and punish criminals, citizens have almost stopped reporting . . . robberies and burglaries from which they have suffered. . . .
>
> Of Mr. Sheets, aforetime The Herald has had occasion to say some unpleasant things, but it has never said he was not a good detective.[44]

On February 17, 1903, Paul resigned as chief and Mayor Thompson announced his desire to appoint George Sheets as the next chief. The composition of the city council had not changed, however, and the *Deseret News* advised against the appointment, saying "There is no need for the Mayor to precipitate another squabble by presenting that name again."[45] The *Tribune*, a Sheets supporter, agreed: "The 'insurgents' in the Council throw spasms at the very mention of the name of Sheets, and there is where the first pitched battle is likely to be fought."[46]

For over a month there was no battle, however. The mayor sent no name to the city council, allowing Democrat John B. Burbidge to serve as acting chief. But on March 23 with two of the "solid eight" absent from the city

[41] *Salt Lake Herald*, June 20, 1902.
[42] *Salt Lake Herald*, December 14, 1902. Victoria Place or Alley, began west from 232 South State Street.
[43] *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 27, 30, 1902, and *Salt Lake Herald*, December 16, 18 and 22, 1902.
[44] *Salt Lake Herald*, January 25, 1903.
[45] *Deseret News*, February 20, 1903.
[46] *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 19, 1903.

council meeting, Thompson sent this unexpected message to the council: "I hereby, with your consent, appoint George A. Sheets to the position of chief of police of Salt Lake City."[47]

Those present, according to the *Herald*, met the announcement with "a stillness that permitted for the hearing of a pin drop on the heavy carpet of the chamber." The vote was seven to six in favor of Sheets in what the *Herald* called "One of the neatest maneuvers that had ever been perpetrated on a municipal body in the history of Salt Lake City or the state of Utah."[48]

The following morning Sheets assumed control of the police department announcing:

> The department will remain just as it is. I will regard each and every man my friend until he proves differently. By-gones will be by-gones with me . . . I have lived here all my life and want to remain here and make a reputation and I know that I can only do that by serving the public faithfully. It is my desire to show those who have been against me in this thing that they were mistaken . . . I will do what is right to the best of my ability at all times.[49]

The following day, however, the president of the city council, Charles Cottrell, announced that Sheets' confirmation had failed under City Council rule seventeen, which stated: "a majority vote of all the Council elected shall be necessary to confirm."[50] Eight votes were needed, according to Cottrell, no matter how many councilmen were absent from the meeting. City attorney George L. Nye disagreed, citing a statute, which stated "a majority of the city council shall constitute a quorum to do business."[51]

Both the *Herald* and the *Tribune* seemed pleased with Sheets' appointment and began to chronicle his accomplishments in their columns. "Chief Sheets had not been in office a day," said the *Tribune*, "when he corralled some boys in a saloon in violation of the law and made some arrests. Next he apprehended a suspect upon the streets and found him loaded down with spurious checks."[52] The *Herald* reported that Sheets had spent his first Saturday as chief placing placards in saloon windows, announcing, "This saloon will be closed tomorrow," and that the following Sunday was "The driest Sunday Salt Lake has seen . . . and more than one old-timer who has not missed his Sunday drink in years was turned away and compelled to quench his thirst with City Creek cocktails or Jordan juleps." Sheets also began a "crusade to rid the city of hoboes" and "to clear the rooming houses of undesirable people." Thirty such individuals were compelled to leave town.[53]

It was "an object lesson in efficient [police] work," wrote the *Tribune*.

[47] *Deseret News*, March 24, 1903.
[48] *Salt Lake Herald*, March 24, 1903.
[49] *Deseret News*, March 24, 1903.
[50] Ibid.
[51] *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 23, 1903.
[52] *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 29, 1903.
[53] *Salt Lake Herald*, March 29, 1903.

> And also of the lawabidingness among the saloon keepers when they are convinced that the order to close means business. The claim made by Mr. Hilton, the chief of police whom the council sustained with persistent strenuousity for no reason whatever save that he was a Mormon, in spite of his notorious incompetence, is thus completely disproved. . . . The city is now on the lawful and proper basis; the Republican pledges are in a fair way of being redeemed.[54]

One wonders, however, whether the saloon owners might have been complicit in Sheets' success. He had rallied the saloon men to support Mayor Thompson in the last election, and they may have believed it was in their own best interests in the long run if Sheets were successful in the short run, in "forcing" them to close their establishments on Sundays.

After a week as chief of police, Sheets submitted the March 1903 payroll to city auditor Albert S. Reiser, which included a request for his own wages of $23.25. Reiser, however, returned the payroll with the following message: "Respectfully returned to be certified by John B. Burbidge, captain of police, who is the ranking officer of the police department, George A. Sheets not having been legally confirmed by the city council."[55]

The confirmation of a salaried officer, Reiser contended, had created a liability against the city, which required a majority vote of all of the members elected. City Attorney George L. Nye disagreed but Reiser refused to issue checks to pay the officers.[56]

The conflict continued for a month, until April 1903, when the case was argued before the three justices of the Utah Supreme Court. Attorney Franklin S. Richards argued the case against Sheets and the three justices unanimously agreed that Sheets' appointment had been illegal. He was ordered to step aside and John Burbidge resumed his duties as acting chief.

Burbidge served as acting chief until the end of 1903, when the new mayor-elect, Democrat Richard Morris, expressed his intention to make Burbidge the official chief of police. At the last city council meeting prior to the change of power, however, out-going Mayor Thompson submitted the name of Republican William Lynch to the city council, which—eleven Republicans to four Democrats—sustained Lynch as the new chief. The council's approval came after the controversial election of Mormon Apostle Reed Smoot to the United States Senate and signaled that the alliance of the "solid eight" had been broken. The election of a new democratic administration seemed to unite the Republicans on the council—both Mormons and gentiles—in their final hour.

Democratic Councilman Fernie Fernstrom called Lynch's appointment "a piece of spite work on the part of the mayor." The *Deseret News* agreed, saying the action was taken "with the plain intent to embarrass and obstruct the incoming administration."[57] William Lynch, previously employed by the

[54] *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 30, 1903.
[55] *Deseret News*, March 30, 1903.
[56] *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 26, 1903.
[57] *Deseret News*, December 12, 15, 1903.

SHIPLER COLLECTION, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

This photograph taken on September 21, 1908, shows construction work underway on the Stockade located on 200 South between 500 and 600 West.

Pleasant Valley Coal Company, came to the job with no law enforcement experience, but served ably, nonetheless, for the next two years.

For about twelve years, beginning with the disbanding of the Liberal and Peoples parties in the early 1890s, Mormons and gentiles had worked together within the political structure of the two national parties, a time known in Utah history as the "Era of Good Feelings." This era came to an end, however, when congressional hearings in Washington, D.C. challenged the seating of Utah's newly elected Senator, Mormon Apostle Reed Smoot. The hearings established that plural marriage was still being practiced among some Mormons, and apparently with the sanction of some Mormon leaders.[58]

In the municipal election of 1905, the efforts the church had made in the early 1890s to divide the Mormon electorate between the Democrats and Republicans came to full fruition. Pro-Smoot Mormons voted Republican while anti-Smoot Mormons voted Democrat. The gentiles, however, were united. Outraged over perceived deceptions with regard to the Mormon promise to end plural marriage they formed a new, third party, the anti-Mormon American Party, which was essentially a reprise of the old anti-Mormon Liberal Party. The divided Mormon vote accomplished in 1905 what disenfranchising the Mormons had accomplished in 1889; American Party candidates won at the polls in Salt Lake City.

The first American Party mayor was the former Republican mayor Ezra Thompson, elected by a minority of the voters in Salt Lake City. The new city council was also dominated by American partisans and when Thompson submitted the name George Sheets as his chief of police, the

[58] See Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989), 164-76.

council readily confirmed the appointment—this time legally.[59]

Sheets' first act was to dismiss several officers who had served with distinction under Chiefs Hilton, Paul, Burbidge and Lynch in order to reward American Party supporters with police positions. In this process a milestone was reached. W. H. Chambers became the first black policeman in Salt Lake City, an appointment not without controversy.

The *Deseret News* objected, calling Chambers "an odiferous colored barber" who has "for a long time past been the associate and friend of colored prostitutes whom he has made it his business to bail out of jail . . . [and who] has been a defendant before the court [himself] repeatedly."[60] The *Tribune,* on the other hand, responded by stating that a man like Chambers was needed "to look after the colored people of the half-world and that Chambers understood the business as well as anyone else. Besides he was a good 'worker' in the last election and should be rewarded." Over two hundred people in Salt Lake's "African colony," including the pastor of the African Church endorsed the appointment.[61]

Chief Sheets, as in 1903, demonstrated his ability to impose law and order on the city. He shut down numerous gambling houses and was successful in getting the saloons to close on Sundays. But a scandal in September 1906, put him at the center of another controversy. Two brothers from Scotland, Alexander and William McWhirter, passed through Salt Lake on September 18, 1906, holding $10,373 in cash, nearly all of which they lost when they were inveigled into a poker game. The *Deseret News* broke the story with the suggestion that Chief Sheets was at the center of "the most staggering scandal in the history of the Salt Lake Police Department"[62] and that he was "in a box that is even tighter than the one from which Cunning the handcuff king escaped."[63]

The *Tribune* came to Sheets' defense, suggesting that Sheets had been made the target of a conspiracy. The money to carry out the scheme, the *Tribune* alleged, had either been put up by a set of local sure-thing gamblers, who were angry at Sheets for his vigorous enforcement of the gambling laws, or it had come from the Mormon church's tithing house in an attempt to hurt the American Party in the next election.[64]

"Bring on the lime. Mix the whitewash," the *Deseret News* responded. "Do a good job of it. Cover up all the spots. Put on three coats. Make it appear that some polygamous Mormon is responsible for it all. Do anything—everything to save the party and Sheets."[65]

Three days after the story broke, "Honest George" as the *Deseret News*

[59] *Deseret News*, January 3, 1906.

[60] *Deseret News*, January 16, 1906.

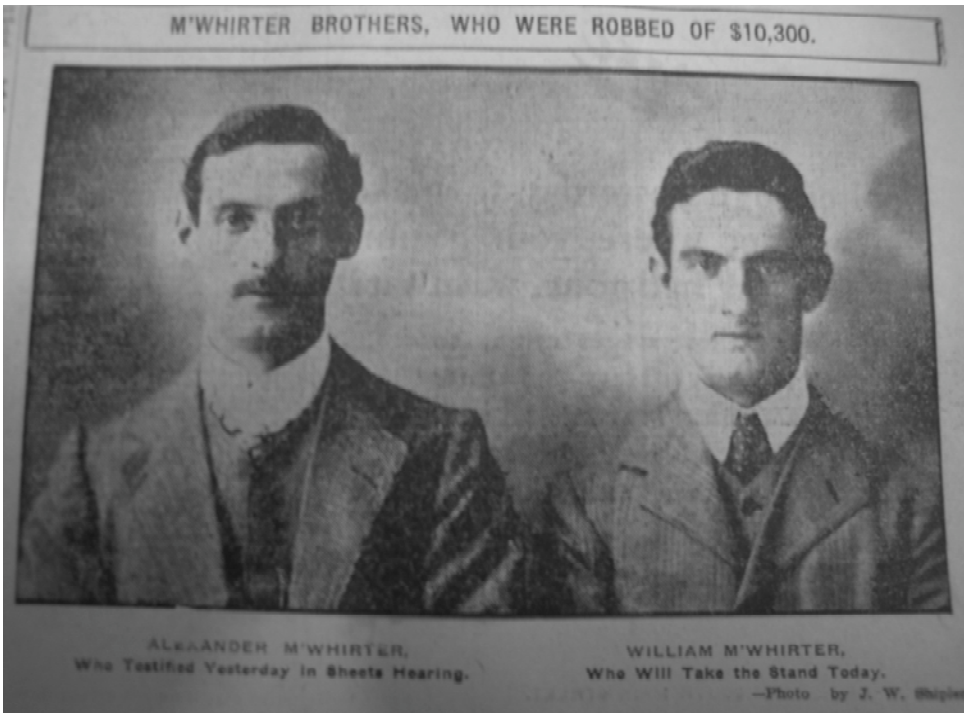
[61] As quoted in the *Deseret News*, January 15, 16, 1906. The article does not indicate the denomination of the "African Church."

[62] *Deseret News*, October 1, 1906.

[63] *Deseret News*, October 3, 1906.

[64] *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 3, 1906, and *Deseret News* October 3, 1906.

[65] *Deseret News*, October 3 and 4, 1906.



Alexander and William McWhirter, two brothers from Scotland shown here in a October 18, 1906,* Salt Lake Herald *photo, were robbed of more than ten thousand dollars in 1906 in a scandal that implicated George A. Sheets.

now called him, was arrested by a sheriff's deputy and charged as an accessory to a robbery after the fact. Sheets pled not guilty the following morning and was released on his own recognizance. The *Tribune* expressed indignation asserting that, "In the days of old these scoundrels would have employed the Hickmans and the Rockwells and other murderous thugs in the employ of ecclesiasticals to do their dirty work."[66]

At trial the prosecution demonstrated that the McWhirter brothers had been robbed and that Chief Sheets had done nothing about it. Sheets had failed to make any arrests, to ask for descriptions of the crooks, to arrest a gambler who had impersonated an officer, to ask the brothers to stay and help identify the bandits, and had actively sought to keep the story out of the newspapers. The defense did not disagree, but argued that "to make a man an accessory, it must be proven that he did some affirmative thing, attempted some specific action, like helping a criminal onto a horse to ride away, and that no amount of negative action was sufficient to incriminate a defendant." With regard to keeping the story out of the newspapers, the defense said, "Of course he suppressed the story, and in doing it he only did his duty and what every other good officer would do under the circum-

[66] *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 5, 1906. Bill Hickman and Porter Rockwell were gunmen who were rumored to have exercised extralegal justice on the behalf of the Mormon church.

stances." Judge George G. Armstrong concurred and dismissed the case.[67]

But the issue did not go away. Sheets was rearrested five months later after one of the gamblers in the scheme disclosed that he and others had paid Sheets protection money—one hundred dollars a week, payable to Salt Lake attorney William Newton on Sheets' behalf, plus twenty percent of all checks won.[68] Sheets, along with eight others, was charged with "entering into a conspiracy to rob tourists who passed through Salt Lake City."[69]

The evidence presented at the second preliminary hearing was found sufficient to warrant a trial, but as the date of the trial approached, Sheets'attorney, Soren X. Christensen, filed a motion to quash information presented at the preliminary hearing. Judge Armstrong ruled in favor of the motion and dismissed the case, causing the *Deseret News* to proclaim that Sheets was like the "proverbial cat" who "has nine lives and comes back with a number left."[70]

Three months later, Sheets was arrested a third time, this time charged with having received a bribe, a felony punishable by up to five years in the penitentiary.[71] Ten days later on July 31, he resigned as chief of police, a course of action the *Tribune* called "the manly and magnanimous course in the present crisis of his affairs. Mr. Sheets goes out of office with the respect of every one of a candid and discerning mind." A week later Mayor Thompson also resigned, citing "ill health" as the reason.[72]

After "hanging fire for over a year" in the words of the *Deseret News,* Sheets was finally put on trial. Defying all expectations, it took only two days to select an eight-man jury consisting of four Mormons and four gentiles.[73] The prosecution's principal witnesses were two men involved in the plot to rob the McWhirters. Both testified that Sheets was aware of the scheme and one described a meeting with Sheets wherein Sheets was handed a roll of bills totaling $480.[74] But when the prosecution rested its case, the defense moved for a dismissal, as "under the Utah statutes a man cannot be convicted of a crime upon the uncorroborated evidence of an accomplice."[75] In rebuttal the state cited as precedent, territorial case law established during the trial of John D. Lee for his part in the Mountain Meadows Massacre. "It is not necessary for that the testimony of an accomplice should be corroborated in every circumstance that he details in evidence. . . ." Further, "A witness in a criminal prosecution is not incompetent on the ground that he is an accomplice with the prisoner on trial in the particular crime which is the subject of the

[67] *Deseret News*, October 24, 1906.
[68] *Deseret News*, March 2, 1907.
[69] *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 2, 1907.
[70] *Deseret News*, May 27, 1907.
[71] *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 23, 1907.
[72] *Salt Lake Tribune*, August 1, 1907; and *Deseret News*, August 6, 1907.
[73] *Deseret News*, February 17, 1908; *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 28, 1908.
[74] *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 21, 1908.
[75] *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 25, 1908; *Deseret News*, February 24, 1908.

indictment, and if the testimony of such witness is believed by the jury, the prisoner may be convicted upon it."[76]

Judge Charles W. Morse denied the defense's motion to dismiss and ordered Sheets' attorneys to either rest or put on witnesses. In the process Sheets took the stand in his own behalf declaring, "I have yet to take my first 5-cent piece of graft money, and I defy any man to contradict me, except some crook who has been promised immunity for his own crime to testify against me."[77]

The trial lasted ten days and when the jury went out at 2:55 p.m. on February 27, the spectators remained in the courtroom, "as if confident the jury would be in within a short time." Two hours later the jury returned and, according to the *Tribune*, "A more dramatic scene [had] never been enacted in a Utah courtroom." An envelope passed from the jury foreman to the court clerk, from the court clerk to Judge Morse, who broke the seal and unfolded the paper, then handed it back to the clerk. The next minute," said the *Tribune*, "dragged as though it were an hour" until the court clerk finally read the verdict, "We the jury find the defendant—not guilty."[78]

The *Deseret News* reported: "The troubled look which George A. Sheets has worn for a year or longer disappeared." Sheets told the *Deseret News*,

> My gratitude and thanks go out to every man and woman of Salt Lake and Utah who has stood shoulder to shoulder with me and believed in me . . . I never let myself think I would not be acquitted. I am not much for religion, but I do feel that the Almighty was looking after me because I have always heard the Almighty is with the right.[79]

The *Tribune* called the verdict "a glorious day for George Sheets . . . a proud triumph for decency and law," and even suggested that Sheets should be reappointed as chief of police.[80]

The new American Party mayor, John Bransford, refused to follow the *Tribune*'s urging and did not reappoint George Sheets. That honor went to Thomas D. Pitt who immediately reinstated Sheets as a detective. Pitt's successor, Samuel M. Barlow, later created a new position, "chief of detectives," for Sheets.[81]

Chiefs Pitt and Barlow confronted a problem which every chief since the Liberal Party takeover of 1890 had confronted—prostitution in the Commercial Street district. Chief Arthur Pratt in 1895 articulated the view held by most, if not all of the chiefs. "I think the best plan is to put them [the prostitutes] in one locality as much as is possible and keep them under

[76] *Deseret News*, February 24, 1908; see *People v. Lee* 2 U. 441.

[77] *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 26, 1908. The *Tribune* made numerous allegations that the witnesses against Sheets, W. H. Parrent and W. W. Bell, had been promised immunity for their testimony, which County Attorney Willard Hansen consistently denied. Neither Bell nor Parrent was prosecuted, however. "Parrent's bail was his word" (*Deseret News*, February 17, 1908), but by February 15 "he had left this part of the country for good" (*Deseret News*, February 15, 1908).

[78] *Deseret News*, February 27, 1908.

[79] *Deseret News*, February 28, 1908.

[80] *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 27, 28, 1908.

[81] Salt Lake City Polk Directory 1908, 73, and 1909, 72, listed Sheets employment as chief of detectives.

strict surveillance. The evil cannot be suppressed but it must be restrained and kept under strict police control. It is a more difficult problem to handle when the women are scattered out than when they are kept together."[82] Even Police Chief Hilton, a Mormon, held this view, saying "the morals of the city would not be improved by the abolition of the houses of prostitution, even were such a thing possible. . . . [T]heir existence was a safeguard to the [proper] young women in the city."[83]

An enduring problem, however, even if one accepted that prostitution should be tolerated and controlled, was the location of the brothels in the Commercial Street District—a two by four block area from State Street to West Temple and from Brigham (South Temple) to Third South. This was prime commercial real estate in the central business district, just adjacent to the Mormon Temple.[84] In 1908, Chief Thomas Pitt did not take issue with the conventional wisdom of the day—the need to regulate and control "a necessary evil"—but he did suggest a new location for the district.

> Let the city set aside a piece of ground of sufficient size to accommodate several hundred of these prostitutes. Enclose same carefully with high fences; build cottages or houses to accommodate these inmates; charge them rent; license them and place them under control of the Police Department as to their safety and confinement, and to the Board of Health as to their cleanliness and sanitary conditions.[85]

With this in mind, Dora B. Topham,[86] a.k.a. Belle London, was invited to move to Salt Lake City from Ogden to establish the innocuous sounding "Citizens' Investment Company" with the mission "to move to Salt Lake's tenderloin from the heart of the city [the Commercial Street district] to the location selected on the west side [of the city] in the block bounded by First and Second South streets and Fourth and Fifth West streets."[87] The new enterprise called the "stockade" was opened for business in December

[82] *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 4, 1895.

[83] *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 23, 1899.

[84] Nichols, *Prostitution, Polygamy and Power*, 45-47.

[85] *Message of the Mayor, with the Annual Report of the Officers of Salt Lake City, Utah, for the year 1907* (Salt Lake City, 1907), 371-75.

[86] Topham's origins before coming to Utah are unclear. The *Ogden Standard Examiner* stated that her true name was Dora Bella Hughes, (*Ogden Standard Examiner*, March 11, 1902) but she was also known by at least four other names: Adora Long, Maxine Rose, Belle London and Dora B. Topham. She had a daughter, Ethel, whose death certificate listed her mother as Adora Long, born in Kentucky (State of California Department of Health Services, Certificate of Death no. 86-174183 as cited in Nichols, *Prostitution Polygamy and Power*, 77, note 97), but she is listed in the 1900 census as being born in Illinois in 1866 (U. S. Bureau of the Census, Twelfth census, 1900, Weber County, Enumeration District No. 187, sheet 8, line 1 as cited in Nichols, *Prostitution Polygamy and Power*, 169-70, note 45). The name Dora B. Topham was acquired after she married Thomas Topham Jr. on May 1, 1890, in Ogden (*Ogden Standard Examiner*, March 11, 1902). She may have operated a brothel in Denver as a "Belle London" reportedly operated a brothel there named the "Fashion" at some point in the 1880s and Topham later operated a house in Ogden called the "Fashion." (Nichols, *Prostitution Polygamy and Power*, 169-170, note 45.) She first appeared in Utah in the Ogden Police Court "Justice's Docket, 1889," on August 14, 1889, and in the Ogden newspaper three months later, when the police shut down two houses of prostitution, one of which was kept by Belle London, "who has been heard of before in this city." (*Ogden Standard Examiner*, November 9, 1889.)

[87] *Salt Lake Herald*, June 29, 1908.

1908, with Mayor Bransford, City Councilman Martin Mulvey and Chief of Detectives George Sheets as its prime supporters.[88]

Though Samuel Barlow was the chief of police, the *Herald-Republican* maintained that Sheets, not Barlow, was "the actual head of the police department" and during the 1909 election campaign Bransford, Mulvey and Sheets were lampooned in several *Herald-Republican* cartoons as "the Red-Light Triplets."[89]

The Red-Light Triplets cartoon,* The Salt Lake Herald Republican, *October 20, 1909.

The appearance of a new newspaper in Salt Lake City, the *Herald-Republican*, formed when the *Intermountain Republican* purchased the *Herald*, is a significant development in Utah and Salt Lake City politics. Earlier, in 1905, the *Intermountain Republican* was created with financial support of the Mormon church's First Presidency, to be voice for the Republican Party after the *Tribune*'s defection to the American Party. The purchase of the *Herald* and the name change to the *Herald-Republican* marks the demise of a news media voice for the Democratic Party in Salt Lake City.

In spite of the newspaper realignments and the open support of the Republican Party by many in high church positions, including President Joseph F. Smith, there were more Democrats than Republicans among the Mormons during this time. There were also more Mormons than gentiles in the city, but the split in the Mormon vote allowed the American Party to stay in power. To dampen gentile opposition to the American Party, Dora B. Topham closed the stockade in advance of municipal elections and the *Tribune* focused on the issue that had given the American Party their intitial victory—allegations that Mormon polygamy had furtively continued beyond the 1890 Manifesto. The *Tribune* declared the church's effort to halt

[88] For a history of "the stockade" in Salt Lake City see John S. McCormick, "Red Lights In Zion: Salt Lake City's Stockade, 1908-1911" *Utah Historical Quarterly* 50 (Spring 1980): 168-81; also Nichols, *Prostitution, Polygamy and Power*.

[89] *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, October 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 27, 1909.

the practice insincere and published a list of 220 post-Manifesto polygamists. Former chief of police Thomas Hilton was on that list.[90]

But by the election of 1911 the tide had turned. The LDS church was actively pursuing and excommunicating members who had entered into new plural marriages after the declaration of the second manifesto in 1904. Also, those who had taken new plural wives between 1890 and 1904, were not allowed to hold church positions which would require other members to sustain them.[91] With these changes, the public's outrage no longer centered on polygamy, but focused instead on Dora B. Topham and the stockade.

When located in the Commercial Street district, the prostitutes and brothels were hidden within the interior of each block. Access for such services was through narrow alleys and for the general public, the problem was for the most part all but invisible. But the construction of the "stockade" on West Third South made the problem not only highly visible, but seemingly a city service, like a public utility.

In the election of 1911, the split in the Mormon vote was remedied. The Democratic Party had a higher ratio of Mormons than did the Republican Party but fear of another American Party victory caused many Mormon Democrats to vote Republican. It was a strategy that worked in terms of defeating the American Party, but which ultimately proved destructive to the Democratic Party in Utah.[92]

The new Republican mayor, Samuel C. Park, took office in 1912 and named Brigham F. Grant, half-brother to Apostle Heber J. Grant as his chief of police. Grant, the first Mormon to hold the position since Thomas Hilton, began his career in police work a decade earlier when Mayor Ezra Thompson appointed him as a volunteer policeman with a special commission to combat the sale of alcohol to minors. Grant got involved in this cause after his son, along with seven other underage boys, had been arrested for assaulting a man after the boys had obtained and consumed large quantities of beer and whiskey.[93]

As George Sheets had done in 1905, Grant replaced nearly every member of the existing police force. With wide support from all religious elements, he then created a "purity squad," with a policy of "no necessary evils."[94] The highest number of arrests recorded in the history of Salt Lake City occurred during the first year of Grant's administration, 10,418, with "drunk" topping the list at 3,959, a 52 percent increase over the year before.[95]

Grant's efforts also represented the first earnest suppression of prostitution in Salt Lake City, yet he showed great leniency toward the "fallen

[90] *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 8, 1910.
[91] John Henry Smith Journal, November 8, 1910
[92] Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*, 33.
[93] *Deseret News*, June 28, 1902; *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 29, 1092.
[94] *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, July 28, 1911.
[95] Annual Police Reports for 1911, 1912, and 1913 as cited in Gleason, "The Salt Lake Police Department," 103-107

women," giving them two weeks to arrange their affairs and leave town or be rearrested.[96] Though Grant undoubtedly reduced prostitution in Salt Lake City, the practice was not eradicated. Some women returned to Commercial Street, which remained a red light district until the 1930s.[97] Others remained near the site of the old stockade on West Second South, where the oldest profession was still being practiced into the 1980s.

If it is true, as the *Herald-Republican* had suggested, that George Sheets was in control of the police department during the Samuel Barlow administration, it is also true that such was his last hurrah. He left the department sometime in 1910, a departure which coincides with the demise of the American Party in Utah politics. His employment status during 1911 and 1912 remains unknown, but in 1913 he took a job as a security officer at the Arthur Plant of the Utah Copper Company in Garfield where he remained for the next seven years.[98] For the next eleven years he suffered from an undisclosed illness, dying at his home in Salt Lake City in June 1932 at age sixty-eight.

His obituary in the *Deseret News* recounts a famous exploit, "the opening of two infernal machines [bombs] which had been sent by a fanatic crank to the late Judge C. W. Tower and Warden Dow." The piece also eulogized Sheets as "the greatest criminal officer the West has ever known."[99]

The historical record, however, tells a different story. Though Sheets was a law enforcement official, he was not adverse to dancing and drinking in brothels and when fired for such behavior, he had connections to get reinstated. He also demonstrated in the case against Robert L. King that he was willing to orchestrate evidence to condemn an innocent man though the source of his grudge against Robert L. King is nowhere disclosed.

During his brief stint as chief of police in 1903, Sheets demonstrated that he could enforce the Sunday closing laws though it seems likely that the saloon men were complicit in such enforcement. When he became the chief in 1906, he used the position to regulate graft, but not for the benefit of the public so much as for his personal gain. Though Sheets was never found guilty in the McWhirter scandal, the evidence presented against him at trial suggests, at the very least, his gross incompetence.

Perhaps access to power for nefarious purposes was what had fueled his quest to become chief of police all along. This would explain the opposition he faced when appointed for a brief time in 1903. During a city council meeting in 1906 to discuss the McWhirter scandal, city councilman Fernie Fernstrom said, "I had proof five years ago that he was not an honest man."[100]

The constituents Sheets brought to the polls were elements not only

[96] *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, January 16, 1912.

[97] Commercial Street was eventually renamed Regent Street and today consists of little more than parking terraces.

[98] Sheets' employment status was determined reviewing the Polk Directories during these years.

[99] *Deseret News*, June 14, 1932.

[100] *Deseret News*, October 3, 1906.

outside the Mormon mainstream, but outside the American social mainstream in general. He curried favor with prostitutes, gamblers and saloon men.

He also had connections with Salt Lake City's black community, another group marginalized from the mainstream, and showed his appreciation for black support of the American Party in 1905 by rewarding a black man with an unprecedented position on the city's police force.

Sheets' career with the Salt Lake Police department—from 1890 to 1910, with some interruptions—parallels the course of the tumultuous relationship between Mormons and gentiles during this period. His fortunes, in fact, rose and fell, in concert with that conflict. His career began with the defeat of the all-Mormon Peoples Party in 1890, when Mormon-gentile hostility was at an apex but his rise to power was checked when Mormons and gentiles struck an accord. He was fired by Chief Thomas Hilton at the height of the so-called, "Era of Good Feelings." Hilton's resignation in 1902 and Ezra Thompson's failed attempt to appoint Sheets as chief in 1903 serve as barometers of the tenuous balance between Mormons and gentiles in their initial attempts to work together as Republicans. Sheets' star only rose again when the conflict between Mormons and gentiles heated up once again in the wake of the Reed Smoot hearings. Renewed concerns over a continuation of plural marriage precipitated the rebirth of a new anti-Mormon political party which allowed for Sheets' subsequent appointment as chief of police.

His undoing was not the McWhirter scandal. He survived that blow, winning two dismissals then an acquittal and, even though he had resigned as chief, he was soon reinstated as a detective, then promoted to chief of detectives. He may have even held the reins of power inside the department after 1909, though not as the titular head. His ruin was not the McWhirter scandal but the Mormon-Republican alliance that beat the American Party and the rapprochement of Mormons and gentiles spurred by opposition to Dora B. Topham and the stockade.

Sheets' career with the Salt Lake Police Department spans two decades marked by alternating hostility and accord between Mormons and gentiles. By following his career, one gains an understanding of a significant but often overlooked slice of Utah's history.

UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Lehi Brass Band

By LINDA LINDSTROM

Of small town brass bands of yesteryear are fondly remembered. They elicit images of a simpler time and evoke memories of happiness and romance. One former band member said that a band meant "balmy days . . . [when] every barefoot boy whistled the newest band numbers from morn till eve, and young lovers sat dreamy-eyed under the influence of the organ-like music of the best bands. . . ."[1]

During its territorial period, more than sixty Utah towns had these fondly remembered community brass bands.[2] Despite the fact that most communities had bands, little has been written about them individually or collectively.

The Tooele Serenading Band.

Linda Lindstrom is an information security officer for the Department of Veterans Affairs in Salt Lake City. She is a great granddaughter of band leader Alfred Marshall Fox.

[1] Quoted in Margaret Hindle Hazen and Robert M. Hazen, *The Music Men: An Illustrated History of Brass Bands in America, 1800-1920* (Washington, D.C., London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1987), 200.

[2] I have found references to the following community brass bands: American Fork, Bear River City, Beaver, Bountiful, Brigham City, Cedar City, Centerville, Clarkston, Coalville, Ephraim, Escalante, Eureka, Farmington (Deseret Brass Band), Fillmore, Fountain Green, Grantsville, Heber City, Henefer, Hooper, Hoytsville, Huntington, Huntsville, Hyrum, Kaysville, Laketown, Layton, Lehi, Logan, Manti, Mendon, Midway, Morgan, Moroni, Mt. Pleasant, Nephi, North Ogden, Oak City, Ogden, Ophir, Paradise, Park City, Parowan, Payson, Plain City, Pleasant Grove, Providence, Provo, Randolph, Richmond, Salt Lake City, Santa Clara, Santaquin, Smithfield, South Jordan, Spanish Fork, Springville, St. George, Tooele, Vernal, Wellsville, West Weber, Willard, and Willow Creek (Draper).

This paper seeks to illuminate the activities of the Lehi Brass Band which was in existence from 1871 to 1890, and to provide a glimpse of other community bands during the territorial period.

There were three major influences which caused the proliferation of bands in Utah. First, President Brigham Young of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints encouraged church members to become involved in musical activities. In nineteenth century Utah, orchestras, bands, and musical societies were formed not only in Salt Lake City but in the outlying communities as well. These musical organizations utilized the talents of the numerous gifted musicians who were LDS converts.[3]

A second major influence on the creation of community bands was that of the military. The Utah Territorial Militia was initially formed in Nauvoo, Illinois, as the Nauvoo Legion along with the Nauvoo Legion band. Both were reorganized soon after Mormon settlement of the Salt Lake Valley. Later, Nauvoo Legion militia units were established in numerous outlying communities throughout the territory. E. P. Duzette, chief of music for the Nauvoo Legion, traveled to these outlying units to create martial bands (fife and drum corps) or brass bands. The primary function of these bands was to perform at musters and drills, although the bands also performed for communities on holidays and other special occasions.[4] These military bands led directly to the formation of community bands.

A third important influence on the creation of community bands was the brass band movement which began in the 1830s in the United States. By the 1880s and 1890s, most towns had civic bands. The increase in the number of brass bands was made possible by the availability and the low cost of the instruments, and the fact that the instruments were relatively easy to play and could be played interchangeably with similar mouthpieces and identical fingerings.[5]

Despite the fact that community bands are remembered nostalgically, they did play an important role in Utah communities. First, a band was viewed as a measure of civilization and as a culturally elevating institution.[6] For Utahns, a local band placed their town on a par with other Utah communities; and collectively, all of the community bands placed Utah on a par with the eastern states.

Hamilton Gardner echoed these thoughts in his *History of Lehi*:

> One of the favorite pretensions of those who have criticized the pioneers of Utah is that they were largely illiterate and uneducated. They attempt to insinuate and inveigh against the pretended lack of refinement and culture in Utah as compared with that of her sister states east of the Missouri. . . .

[3] Kate B. Carter, compiler, "Bands and Orchestras," in *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 20 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1958-1977), 20:69.

[4] Ralph Hansen, "Administrative History of the Nauvoo Legion in Utah," (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1954), 83-94.

[5] Hazen and Hazen, *The Music Men*, 4, 11, 12-13.

[6] Ibid., 12; H. W. Schwartz, *Bands of America* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1957), 170.

> But the slightest examination of early Utah history reveals the utter fallacy of these criticisms. The pioneers of Utah were among the most highly civilized and cultured Americans of their time. . . . Art, literature, music, the drama, soon found and kept a place among the founders, and of other kinds of cultural development there was not lack.[7]

Second, community bands bestowed the results of their musical talents on all of the citizens of the community. An important activity of a community band was to serenade the town on holidays and other important days, thereby allowing everyone to enjoy its music. Many community bands played a wide variety of music, which was appealing to most individuals.[8] Third, typically the most important source of instrumental music in communities in the second half of the nineteenth century was the local band.[9] Fourth, community bands played for dances, which were a favorite pastime in nineteenth-century Utah. Fifth, since community bands generally drew large crowds, bands were often used to raise money for various causes and to underscore the philosophies espoused by religious, social, and political organizations.[10]

Besides the benefits accrued to communities, there were benefits to band members as well. Healthy benefits were thought to be derived from playing musical instruments and from marching in bands thereby developing good lungs, broad shoulders, strength, and vigor. Learning to play a musical instrument was considered a means of self-improvement.[11] Most importantly, being in a band forged meaningful relationships with other members of the band and community.

By 1871 Lehi's population had reached a thousand when twelve musically inclined residents formed the Lehi Brass Band under the leadership of twenty-eight year old school teacher, George William Thurman. Thurman had served in the Kentucky Home Guard during the Civil War and was undoubtedly exposed to brass bands there.[12]

The Lehi Brass Band was not the first band in Lehi, however. A fife and drum corps had been organized in 1860 and was the principal music provider in the community until the brass band was organized.[13] The fife and drum corps was probably associated with the Lehi militia unit of the Nauvoo Legion.

Lehi resident John Beck, whose mining career began in 1870 and who later made a fortune in the Bullion-Beck mine in Eureka, agreed to furnish

[7] Hamilton Gardner, *History of Lehi* (1913), in Thomas F. Kirkam, ed. and comp, *Lehi Centennial History, 1850-1950* (Lehi: Free Press Publishing Co., 1950), 70.

[8] Hazen and Hazen, *The Music Men*, 12.

[9] Ibid., 5.

[10] Ibid., 11

[11] Ibid., 11, 13.

[12] Kirkham, *Lehi Centennial History*, 70, 301; William Francis Butt Collection, Ms. 1300, Historical Department Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives).

[13] Kirkham, *Lehi Centennial History*, 70.

one-half of the money necessary to purchase the instruments for the new band.[14] The other half of the money probably came from benefit performances. James Kirkham, a member of the Lehi Brass Band, recalled in his diary that on March 1, 1872, "I helped to play for a party for the benifiet [sic] of the Lehi Brass Band."[15]

Band members likely purchased their instruments from the Grant Music Emporium in American Fork since other instruments were purchased there later. The Grant Music Emporium, established in 1869, sold musical instruments of all kinds. William Grant, leader of the American Fork Brass band, was owner of the store.[16] Cost of the instruments was around two hundred dollars.

Tragedy struck the Lehi Brass Band shortly after its organization. Band organizer Thurman was murdered on Christmas Eve 1871. Thurman was in the meetinghouse preparing a Christmas tree for the town Christmas celebration when Jed Woodward, who had earlier been chastised by Thurman, broke through the door. Thurman attempted to eject him, but Woodward drew his revolver and shot him. Thurman died a few hours later.[17]

The following April, twenty-nine year old Alfred Marshall Fox was elected leader of the band by unanimous vote of the whole town and was given the courtesy title of "Professor."[18] Fox, a farmer who had emigrated from Great Britain to Lehi in 1860, lacked any formal musical training, but he did come from a musical family, his father and brothers being fine musicians. Fox served as leader of the band until it was dissolved in 1890.

In addition to Fox as the leader of the Lehi Brass Band, there were other officers that included a secretary, treasurer, chaplain, and color bearer. Eventually, the Lehi Brass Band was governed by a set of by-laws.[19]

The twelve charter members of the band were all young males ranging in age from eighteen to thirty-four. They were born in England, Wales, Scotland, Denmark, Germany, and the United States, and all were members of the LDS church. The names of the charter members, their ages at time of band creation, and places of birth are:

Joseph Ashton	34	England
George Beck	23	Germany
John Beck	28	Germany

[14] Ibid.

[15] James Kirkham Journal, Ms. 1431, LDS Church Archives.

[16] Life and Diary of Alfred Marshall Fox, May 9, 1880, typescript (copy in author's possession); Kirkham, *Lehi Centennial History*, 488; George F. Shelley, *Early History of American Fork* (American Fork City, 1942), 114; Territorial Militia Records, Series 2210, Reel 8, Box 2, Folder 65, Record no. 3205, microfilm, Utah State Archives.

[17] Kirkham, *Lehi Centennial History*, 140.

[18] Kirkham, *Lehi Centennial History*, 301-2; Life and Diary of Alfred Marshall Fox, April 1872; Journal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, December 13,1882, LDS Church Archives; *Deseret Evening News*, September 23, November 22, 1887.

[19] James Kirkham Journal, December 20, 1881, January 21, December 23, 1882, September 17, 1887; James M. Kirkham, undated letter to editor, *Lehi Free Press*, William Francis Butt Papers, Ms. 1397, L. Tom Perry Special Collections and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter cited as BYU Library).

Joseph Colledge	21	South Wales
Thomas Cutler	27	England
Thomas Fowler	32	England
Alfred Fox	29	England
Isaac Fox	22	England
Robert Gilchrist	25	Scotland
Christian Racker	18	Denmark
Samuel Taylor	31	England
David Thurman	24	Kentucky[20]

COURTESY OF AUTHOR

Alfred M. Fox, leader of the Lehi Brass Band.

The Lehi Brass Band attracted various family members as band members. In the charter group, Alfred and Isaac Fox were brothers, and Samuel Taylor was married to their sister. George and John Beck were brothers. And David Thurman was a brother to the founder of the band.

Many local band members, having good intentions, often lacked sufficient musical training or talent to perform well. One cynical observer of bands wrote what is perhaps an apt description of the Lehi Brass Band:

> A desire is manifest in the community for a band. Men who aspire to things of this kind voluntarily organize into a body. Instruments are purchased and a "professor" is secured to teach them. A room is engaged and the men are ready for their first lesson.
>
> Here a wonderful surprise awaits them—they cannot read a note of music. They don't know "A" from a bale of hay. This is a condition to be deplored, but I can safely say that not one amateur bandsman in five is in the possession of the merest rudiments of music.[21]

The instrumentation of the Lehi Brass Band was probably similar to that of the American Fork Brass Band, which was formed in 1866 and included 1 E flat cornet; 4 B flat cornets; 2 E flat tenors; 1 B flat baritone; 2 B flat basses; 1 bombardon (bass tuba); and 2 drums.[22]

In order to have a suitable place for the band to practice, the Lehi Music Hall at 451 North Center Street was built in the fall of 1872, under the direction of Professor Fox. The building was funded by John Beck, a Mormon convert who struck it rich at the Bullion-Beck mine in the Tintic Mining District. The music hall, approximately 32 feet by 63 feet, was built of adobe and cost $2,500. The first grand ball in the new hall was held on December 25, 1872.[23] A stage on the west end of the building was

[20] William Francis Butt Collection, LDS Church Archives.

[21] Quoted in Schartz, *Bands of America*, 171.

[22] Territorial Militia Records, series 2210, microfilm.

[23] Diary of Alfred Marshall Fox, 1872, photocopy in author's possession; Kirkham, *Lehi Centennial History*, 71; Lehi Ward Minutes, 1871, LR 4817, Series 11, LDS Church Archives,; James Kirkham Journal, December 25, 1872.

built on stilts over Dry Creek. "The stage settings and scenery were the wonder and admiration of the people, and attracted many visitors as well," Hamilton Gardner later wrote.[24] The Music Hall became the social center of Lehi.

Band practices were typically held in the Music Hall on Saturday nights and more often prior to a special event.[25] Apparently band members had a good time at band rehearsals. Band member George Kirkham recalled, "We went to band practic. They had some beer and cheese and crackers. We had a liveley time."[26]

Of primary importance to any band were good instruments and sheet music. During its existence, the Lehi Brass Band often appealed to the Lehi City Council for funds to buy new instruments and music. For example, in 1880 the city purchased a bass drum for the band at a cost of twenty-five dollars, and four years later the city approved the purchase of a new instrument for Professor Fox at a cost of forty-three dollars and music at a cost of two dollars.[27]

The Lehi Brass Band and other community bands in territorial Utah played a wide repertoire of music. For patriotic occasions typical songs were "America," "Battle Hymn of the Republic," "Hail Columbia," "The Star Spangled Banner," and "Yankee Doodle." Marches were favorites as well: "Bonnie Blue Flag," "Marching through Georgia," "Normal March" by E. Burton Haynes; and "Primrose March" by Monroe M. Althouse. Among the popular songs were "Dixie," "Old Dan Tucker," and "Listen to the Mockingbird," and music by Stephen Foster, "My Old Kentucky Home," "Oh! Susanna," and "Old Folks at Home." Overtures, quicksteps, and waltzes were equally popular. For more somber occasions a band might play Handel's "Dead March from Saul" or "Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's Funeral March" by Chopin.

There were inevitable conflicts in community bands. Solutions to these conflicts were handled in various ways. On one such occasion in the Lehi band Professor Fox offended band members, ended up submitting his resignation, and Lehi's LDS bishop, Thomas Cutler, stepped in to try to solve the problem. The dispute was over an invitation Fox as band leader had received from a Mr. Lee in Bingham Canyon asking that the Lehi Brass Band and a local string band help celebrate Bingham Canyon's Independence Day in 1884. Fox called a meeting of the band where it was explained that the brass band would go for one hundred dollars and the string band for thirty dollars. A misunderstanding quickly followed when

[24] Kirkham, *Lehi Centennial History*, 71.

[25] Numerous references to practices and meetings from 1880 through 1889 are made in James Kirkham Journal and in the George Kirkham Journal, Ms. 1173, LDS Church Archives.

[26] George Kirkham Journal, February 21, 1885. George Kirkham mentions numerous times in his journal of such after practice activities as does James Kirkham in his journal.

[27] Life and Diary of Alfred Marshall Fox, May 4, May 9, 1880; Lehi City Council Minutes, December 23, 1884, Series 13742, microfilm, Utah State Archives.

Fox wanted to take only half of the band. Many of the band refused to go and the meeting was dismissed in a bad way; Fox, before submitting his resignation as band leader, sent a telegram to Lee informing him that the band would not be in attendance. Bishop Cutler, after a week's worth of discussion with Fox, persuaded him not to resign and to continue as the band's leader. Fox met with band members and apologized.[28]

It is not known whether band members shared in the profits of the band; however, perhaps the reason half of them were upset about not going to Bingham Canyon was because they would not have received any of the money paid to the band for appearing.

Band uniforms added an air of respectability and after eight years, a committee of three band members was appointed in January 1879 to obtain the uniforms. James Kirkham approached Bishop Cutler to ask for his support in raising funds to purchase new uniforms. Bishop Cutler agreed and helped to organize three fund raising grand balls and a "dramatic performance." The necessary funds of one-hundred dollars were raised and local tailor, John Hasenfratz, made the uniforms. They were gray with brass buttons, trimmed with red and gold lace.[29] Professor Fox's uniform was a little more ornamented than the other members' uniforms. An additional amount of $72.20 was raised at a benefit concert at the Music Hall to complete the band uniforms with the purchase of belts and epaulets. Later, as new members joined the band, benefit balls or parties were given to raise money for their uniforms.[30] The Lehi Brass Band uniforms were so impressive that the Lehi correspondent to the *Salt Lake Daily Herald* wrote of the band's July 4, 1880, appearance that the band looked "radiant in their new uniforms."[31]

Often brass bands played in parades riding in wagons, carriages or their own bandwagons. In 1881 the Lehi Brass Band attempted to purchase its own bandwagon. A local wagon dealer offered to sell the band a wagon and a committee was appointed to raise the needed funds. The historical record indicates that the funds were never raised nor the bandwagon purchased. The Lehi band had to make do riding in temporary bandwagons fitted up for the band to ride in during the city's celebrations.[32]

One of the main activities of the Lehi band was serenading. It seldom missed opportunities to play on New Year's Day, May Day, July 4th and 24th, election day, Christmas Eve, Christmas Day, New Year's Eve, and more. The band frequently serenaded returning missionaries, political

[28] Lehi City Council Minutes, January 21, 1888; Life and Diary of Alfred Marshall Fox, June 14, 19, 21, 23, 26, July 3, 1881.

[29] Life and Diary of Alfred Marshall Fox, January 1879, January 1, 1880; James Kirkham Journal, January 4, 5, 6, 7, 24, 1879, February 10, 1879, January 1, 1880; George Kirkham Journal, March 8, 1879.

[30] Life and Diary of Alfred Marshall Fox, December 27, 1881; George Kirkham Journal, February 3, 1885.

[31] *Salt Lake Herald*, July 8, 1880.

[32] James M. Kirkham, undated letter to editor, *Lehi Free Press*; George Kirkham Journal, July 3, 1882.

candidates, newly married couples, and even when men were released from the penitentiary for cohabitation. It serenaded LDS Church President Brigham Young, Apostles George Q. Cannon and John Taylor, and other important church leaders when they visited Lehi in August 1874.[33] On numerous other occasions local church leaders and city officials were serenaded. Band members were often invited into homes of prominent citizens for breakfast or dinner. Important relationships were created or reinforced during these meals.[34] On many special occasions, band members played at all hours, some playing extending into the early morning hours. James Kirkham wrote, "To day [July 5, 1880] we celebrated the birth of our nation. At 3 a.m. I put on my band uniform and joined our band. We serenaded our city until 9:30."[35] On Christmas Eve 1885, the band serenaded until 3 a.m. and was out again at 10 the next morning.[36]

The band was scheduled to serenade the residents of Lehi on July 4, 1881, but two days earlier word was received that President James Garfield had been shot and the festivities were canceled.[37] George Kirkham wrote, "There was no music out on the streets, the flag was at half mast. There was no shouting and all seemed gloomy." However word came that the President was out of danger and was doing well, so the band came out and serenaded the city.[38] Four years later, on July 24, 1885, the band did not perform on Pioneer Day because a national day of mourning had been designated for the death of President Ulysses S. Grant.[39]

One of the most frequent functions of the Lehi Brass Band was to provide music for community dances, or band parties as they were called. The events were usually held at the Music Hall where people from Lehi and the northern end of Utah County gathered with their buggies laden with baskets of food to enjoy parties that often continued until after midnight.[40]

Many times the Lehi band played for special benefit programs and charitable causes. On four different occasions, the band held benefit concerts to help one of its own members. Band leader Professor Fox provided for his

[33] See the numerous entries in James Kirkham Journal and George Kirkham Journal for band performances of important visitors to Lehi as well as the *Salt Lake Daily Herald*, July 8, 1880; *Deseret Evening News*, January 9, July 8, 1886; *Territorial Inquirer*, July 9, 1886; the William Francis Butt papers, July 4, 25, 1887, June 7, 1890, BYU Library,; William Francis Butt Collection, LDS Church Archives.

[34] See numerous entry dates in James Kirkham Journal George Kirkham Journal, and Life and Diary of Alfred Marshall Fox, July 24, 1880, December 26, 1881; *Deseret Evening News*, January 9, July 8, 1886.

[35] James Kirkham Journal. See also Kirkham, *Lehi Centennial History*, 479.

[36] George Kirkham Journal, December 24 and 25, 1885. See also George Kirkham Journal, June 27, 1885.

[37] James Kirkham Journal, July 3, 1881; George Kirkham Journal, July 2-3, 1881; Life and Diary of Alfred Marshall Fox, July 3, 1881.

[38] George Kirkham Journal, July 4, 1881. President James Garfield died on September 19, 1881, from the gunshot wound.

[39] James Kirkham Journal, July 24, 1885.

[40] See several entries from 1878 through 1885 in James Kirkham Journal; several entries from 1883 through 1888 in George Kirkham Journal; Lehi City Council Minutes, January 21, 1888.

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The Midway Brass Band, November 28, 1899, in front of the John Watkins Home in Midway.

family by farming a small tract of land at what is now Thanksgiving Point. Fox was not a very successful farmer and supplemented his meager income giving music and voice lessons to some of Lehi's residents. Shortly after Fox was appointed band leader, one of his daughters contracted black measles, a deadly form of measles which caused hemorrhages into the skin. Untreatable at home, Fox's daughter was admitted to Deseret Hospital in Salt Lake City for an extended period of time. The daughter's serious illness and extended stay in the hospital exacerbated the family's already poor financial circumstances. The band held fund raising performances to ease the financial burden of their leader.

The band played benefit concerts to raise money for departing LDS missionaries; played for LDS events such as Sunday School concerts and picnics, Mutual Improvement Association (MIA) fairs, and Relief Society bazaars. Community events such as Lehi fairs also benefited from the band's presence. On more sorrowful occasions, somber notes from the band were heard during funeral processions.[41]

When word was received in Utah of the devastating Johnstown flood in Pennsylvania in which 2,200 lives were lost, the Lehi Brass Band held a benefit concert to help the victims of the flood.[42]

[41] George Kirkham Journal, December 17, 1880, December 22, 1884, July 10, 1886; James Kirkham Journal, October 2, 1883, December 22, 1884; William Francis Butt Collection, LDS Church Archives, November 21, 1888; James M. Kirkham, undated letter to editor, *Lehi Free Press*; Journal History, December 13, 1882; *Deseret Evening News*, November 22, 1887.

[42] James Kirkham Journal, January 4, 1889; *Salt Lake Herald*, June 13, 1889.

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The Grouse Creek Band, 1911.

Old folks excursions were enjoyable events for the Lehi band. The band frequently played to "cheer the hearts of the old folks."[43] On one such excursion, as many as 750 individuals from Salt Lake City rode the train to American Fork and then were shuttled by wagons to Chipman Grove where the Lehi Brass Band serenaded them. For one band member the highlight of the day was seeing a one-hundred year old woman dance to the music of the band.[44]

The band played and traveled in all seasons of the year. One of the band's performances was at Cedar Fort and Fairfield in January 1879. In the dead of winter, the band, "serenidded the village and the people were delighted. In the evening a ball was given in our honor and we injoyed ourselves in the merry dance until 6 a.m."[45]

Three years later, the band traveled to Cedar Fort and Fairfield on the Salt Lake and Western Railroad. One band member commented of the trip: "We road in the coboose and was the first band of music that ever went over the road."[46]

State and national holidays were busy times for community bands. Utah celebrated the centennial of the signing of the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1876. In Lehi the day long activities began with the firing of one hundred guns in honor of the one hundred years since

[43] George Kirkham Journal, June 8, 1876, July 12, 1888; Life and Diary of Alfred Marshall Fox, June 8, 1876, June 24, 1879; *Utah Enquirer*, July 17, 1888.

[44] James Kirkham Journal, June 29, 1886.

[45] James Kirkham Journal, January 21, 1879 .

[46] James Kirkham Journal, January 31, 1882.

the founding fathers signed their names to the document declaring America's independence. The flag was unfurled at sunrise following which the Lehi Brass and martial bands serenaded the citizens. At 9:30 a.m., thirteen guns were fired to honor the thirteen original states, which was the signal for the people to assemble in the meetinghouse for a patriotic program of music, speeches, and readings. In the afternoon there were sports in the tithing yard and a dance for children in the tithing barn. In the evening there was a dance for adults, again in the tithing barn, and the climax of the day came when fireworks were set off. It was the first time fireworks had been displayed in Lehi.[47]

Perhaps the most unusual invitation for the Lehi Brass Band came from LDS Church President John Taylor inviting band members to participate in a parade in Salt Lake City to honor the release of Daniel H. Wells from prison following his two days of incarceration.[48] Wells, a former second counselor to President Brigham Young and a former mayor of Salt Lake City, was called to testify at a trial in what was called the "Miles polygamy case." Wells had performed one of the marriages under consideration in the suit and when he refused to answer certain questions he was found in contempt of court and placed in custody of the marshal. Later, after his release from custody, Wells was given the opportunity to purge himself of the contempt charge, but he again refused to answer the questions about the Endowment House marriage ceremonies. Wells was found in contempt of court and was ordered to pay a fine of one-hundred dollars and sentenced to two days at the territorial prison.[49]

During Wells' two-day imprisonment, the Salt Lake City Council met and planned a grand procession to celebrate his release. Local and territorial officials, church leaders and bands from throughout the territory were invited. Salt Lake City merchants were asked to close their places of business on the day of the procession.[50]

The Lehi Brass Band was given a free ride to Salt Lake City on the 5 p.m. train. Following dinner, the band performed at City Hall before retiring for the night sleeping on the floor of the hall. The next morning the band, along with the American Fork City Band and others, escorted Wells in a grand parade from 600 South to the Tabernacle on Temple Square.

As President Wells neared Temple Square a herald on horseback sounded his coming and there was a great shout and cheering from the multitude.

[47] Andrew Fjeld, "How Lehi Celebrated Fourth When America Was a Hundred," *Deseret News*, July 10, 1926; James Kirkham Journal, July 4, 1876; George Kirkham Journal, July 4, 1876.

[48] James Kirkham Journal, May 5, 1879; George Kirkham Journal, May 5, 1879.

[49] Andrew Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1901), 1:65; *Deseret Evening News*, May 2, 3, and 5, 1879; Bryant S. Hinckley, *Daniel Hanmer Wells and Events of His Time* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1942), 265-70; James Kirkham Journal, May 5, 1879; George Kirkham Journal, May 5, 7, 1879; Life and Diary of Alfred Marshall Fox, May 5, 1879.

[50] Hinckley, *Daniel Hanmer Wells*, 271-73; Life and Diary of Alfred Marshall Fox, May 5, 1879.

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The Park City Independent Band, 1915.

The bands played "See the Conquering Hero Comes." The Lehi and American Fork bands joined other bands to provide music at the Tabernacle.[51]

Following the Tabernacle program, the Lehi and American Fork bands escorted the city's firemen to City Hall where the firemen entertained the musicians with a "fire function." Later the Lehi Brass Band serenaded President Wells and played at various other locations in the city. In the evening the firemen gave a ball in the band's honor. Band member James Kirkham recalled the eventful occasion, "We had a very enjoyable time and a time never to be forgotten."[52]

During the 1880s the band played at political rallies and events. On Monday October 30, 1882, the Utah County Central Committee of the Peoples Party invited the Lehi Brass Band to participate in a ratification meeting at the Provo Tabernacle. Members of the Peoples Party were primarily Mormons. Its opposite party, the Liberal Party, was composed chiefly of non-Mormons. The purpose of the meeting was to adopt the Declaration of Principles of the Peoples Party and to ratify the Peoples nominee for territorial delegate to Congress, John T. Caine. The Lehi band, along with the American Fork and Payson bands, participated. In the late afternoon the bands played at the courthouse and in the evening the bands

[51] James Kirkham Journal, May 5 and 6, 1879; George Kirkham Journal, May 7, 1879.
[52] Ibid., May 7, 1879.

joined a torchlight parade to escort candidate Caine to the tabernacle where speeches were made and the music continued.[53]

Three days later, on Thursday, November 2, the band participated at a similar meeting of the Lehi Peoples Party held at the Lehi Tabernacle. The Honorable John T. Caine was "there in person and delivered a powerful speech."[54] Band member James Kirkham remembered, "The band atten[d]ed and we had a fine time. The affair was a polictical one and was full of the spirit of such."[55]

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The Garfield Beach Resort, with an unidentified band posed on the steps, looking east.

On the eve of the November 6, 1885 election, the Lehi Brass Band went again to Provo by train to participate in a Peoples Party rally, which was held in the Tabernacle and Academy Hall. "[T]he Lehi Brass Band, gayly uniformed, were there playing popular airs in excellent and artistic style."[56]This political rally was not without some confrontation from the opposing party. "During the meeting a Mr. O. J. Hollister, a member of the Liberal party of Utah, came in and was allowed five (5) minutes to make a reply to one of our speakers but he soon forgot himself and abused the Peoples Party and was soon hissed out."[57]

Bands at political rallies and at other political events often encouraged large numbers to attend. The Lehi band's appearance at the Peoples political rallies in Utah County must have helped voter turnout as the Peoples Party candidate won over the Liberal Party candidate by a count of 14,552 votes to 4,101 in the Territory with the Utah County vote 2,562 for the Peoples Party and 235 for the Liberal Party.[58]

[53] Ibid., October 30 and 31, 1882; *Deseret Evening News*, October 31, 1882; Journal History, November 1, 1882.

[54] Journal History, November 4, 1882.

[55] James Kirkham Journal, November 2, 1882.

[56] Journal History, November 8, 1882, and James Kirkham Journal, November 6, 1882.

[57] James Kirkham Journal, November 6, 1882. See also Journal History, November 8, 1882.

[58] James Kirkham Journal, November 10, 1882.

Two years later, Utah's two unusual political parties aligned by religious persuasion had changed to the two national political parties. On July 14, 1888, the Lehi Brass Band went to Provo to a Democratic ratification meeting. The purpose of the meeting was to ratify the nominations of Grover Cleveland and Allen G. Thurman as Democratic candidates for President and Vice President of the United States. The Lehi Brass Band arrived at 6:15 p.m. via the Utah Central Railroad where they were met by the Provo Silver Band and the Democratic Central Committee. A procession was formed which marched along Main Street (present-day University Avenue) to the bank corner where the combined bands played "Hail, Columbia." At dusk, huge bonfires were built which illuminated Main Street and the parading bands brought citizens from their homes. Later in the evening, the Lehi band joined with several other bands at the Provo Theatre to play a selection of patriotic tunes. Between speakers the combined bands performed "Hail, Columbia" in what a local newspaper described as "in a spirited manner." The meeting ratified Cleveland and Thurman as candidates; however, they were defeated in the general election.[59]

A number of resorts on the shores of the Great Salt Lake provided excellent recreational opportunities for all ages as well as venues where the Lehi Brass Band and others played often during the summer months in the 1880s. Lake Point, Black Rock, and Garfield Beach, on the south shore of the lake were all easily accessible by the Utah and Nevada Railroad. Lake Park, located on the lake's eastern shore was served by the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad.[60] Frequently, railroads offered discount rates to individuals and groups to these resorts. And often, bands accompanied excursions to the lake resorts. Edward Tullidge noted, "In the bathing season, our city is ever and anon awakened to an excursion enthusiasm by the joyous bands marching through the city to the train, calling the excursionists to hurry to the pleasures of the day at Black Rock, Garfield and Lake Point."[61]

Among the bands that provided music for some of these excursions was the Lehi Brass Band. Besides experiencing good fellowship and fun, band members were often given a free train ride and free meals, and on occasion the band was allowed to split the profits of the day with the railroad company.[62] One such excursion occurred in July 1884, when about five-hundred people from Utah County, accompanied by the Lehi, American Fork, and Grantsville Brass Bands, traveled by train to Black Rock. At the resort and on board an excursion boat, the bands took turns playing for the passengers. For some band members, these excursions were not as whole-

[59] *Utah Enquirer*, July 17, 1888. See also William Francis Butt Collection, LDS Church Archives, July 14, 1888.

[60] For a discussion of the various resorts on the shores of the Great Salt Lake, see Dale L. Morgan, *The Great Salt Lake* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1947), 353-66.

[61] Edward W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City* (Salt Lake City: Star Printing Company, 1886), 724.

[62] James M. Kirkham, undated letter to editor, *Lehi Free Press*.

some as they believed they should have been.[63] Band member George Kirkham was troubled by what he saw at one of the bathing beaches: ". . . some of us [went] out on the pier to wach the people go in bathing. It was reare sport to wach these both men and women. It look very vulgar to me and something I did not approve of."[64] A month later the Lehi Brass Band was joined by the Nephi Brass Band to provide music for about 350 people from Juab and Utah counties who traveled by train to Garfield Beach. George Kirkham stated that one of the best features of the day was the dinner they had on board the *General Garfield*.[65] The *General Garfield* was originally christened the *City of Corinne* and used to carry ore and freight between Lake Point and Corrine. When it became unprofitable, it was sold, rechristened the *General Garfield*, and used for pleasure excursions. In 1881, it was anchored permanently at Garfield Beach.[66] The last excursion to Great Salt Lake resorts by the Lehi band was made in 1889.[67]

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An excursion train in front of the Black Rock Resort.

The Lehi band often played at various church youth outings. In July 1886, the band played at a four-day outing at the South Fork of Provo Canyon attended by nearly four hundred members of the Young Men's and Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Association, including more than a hundred from Lehi. The Lehi attendees left home about 9 a.m. on July 13 and drove to a toll gate at the entrance to Provo Canyon where they were to meet some of the committee members for dinner. However, the committee members did not show up and the band members ate all of the food brought by one of the Lehi young women for the four-day outing. Consequently, band members took care to make sure the young lady had enough to eat while they were in the canyon. Attendees camped in a large grove of trees alongside a beautiful stream of clean, cold water. Activities included meetings, games, foot races, gathering berries, fishing, and climbing mountains. They also laughed, sang, ate, drank, and endured some rain. On the second day, LDS Apostle Heber J. Grant and Junius Wells, founder

[63] George Kirkham Journal, July 27, 1884; James Kirkham Journal, July 12, 1884; *Salt Lake Daily Herald*, July 13, 1884; *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 13, 1884; James M. Kirkham, undated letter to editor, *Lehi Free Press*.

[64] George Kirkham Journal, July 27, 1884.

[65] George Kirkham Journal, August 14, 1884.

[66] Morgan, *The Great Salt Lake*, 354-55; John D. C. Gadd, "Recreational Development of the Great Salt Lake," (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1967), 14, 15-18, 20.

[67] James Kirkham Journal, July 29, 1889.

of the Young Men's MIA, spoke. That night the Lehi Band held a moonlight concert and the following evening, the band provided music for a dance.[68] The *Territorial Inquirer* remarked of the band's performances, "The Lehi band caused the mountains to re-echo their sweet strains of music."[69]

Nationally, band contests were very popular during the 1870s and 1880s, and the contests in Utah were no exception. Contests gave bands the incentive to improve. The first band contest held in Utah County was in Provo in September 1888. Participating in the band jubilee were the Provo Silver Band, Spanish Fork Brass Band, Salem Brass Band, Payson Brass Band, Huish [Spanish Fork] Brass Band, Lehi Brass Band, and Kirkham's [Lehi] Silver Band.[70] As many as 135 musicians played, marched and serenaded during the contest. The *Utah Enquirer* wrote of the band contest:

> An event occurred in Provo on Friday last, the equal of which has never been known in Utah, or, we presume in any of her sister Territories. We refer to the grand band jubilee that occurred that day. For weeks and weeks past our county musicians have been anxiously awaiting the arrival of September 28th, knowing that on that day they would meet with their band-fellows from other portions of the county, and participate with them in having a time of great rejoicing and recreation.[71]

At 7 a.m., the Provo Silver Band marched to the depot to welcome the bands from the south. The combined bands marched back along present-day University Avenue to the bank corner playing alternately, then formed a circle and played two marches in concert. They then paraded to the Provo Theatre (in the same block) and "here a programme was adopted for the reception of the bands from the north." The bands then marched to the depot, formed a semicircle and played while the bands from the north were unloading. Next, all the bands, a total of 135 musicians, marched to the bank corner where they rendered two selections in concert. Then, with music by the Lehi Brass Band, the musicians continued on to the Provo Theater where a business meeting was conducted and the constitution of the Utah County Band Association was read, amended, and adopted. At 2 p.m. the band contest began with Major E. W. Kent from Salt Lake City serving as the judge. The Lehi Brass Band played the "Fashion Quickstep" by Theodore Moelling as its selection for the competition. The Payson Band won first prize honors with the Spanish Fork Band taking second. The band contest concluded with all of the bands participating in a parade followed by a dance at the Provo Theatre. "It was a grand sight," wrote the *Utah Enquirer.* The evening's grand ball was a huge success with 125 couples "tripping the light fantastic." The *Utah Enquirer* summed up the day as follows, "Taking everything into consideration the jubilee of county bands for 1888 was a grand success, and too much praise cannot be lavished

[68] *Territorial Inquirer*, July 16, 1886; George Kirkham Journal, July 13-16, 1886; James Kirkham Journal, July 13-16, 1886.

[69] *Territorial Inquirer*, July 16, 1886.

[70] *Utah Enquirer*, October 2, 1888; James Kirkham Journal, September 28, 1888.

[71] *Utah Enquirer*, October 2, 1888.

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Garfield Resort, looking west.

upon those who conceived the idea of inaugerating such an affair, and who so successfully carried it out. They have done something that will be recorded in history."[72] After the contest, while the bands remained seated on the stage, Lehi's band leader, Professor Fox, was elected president of the Utah County Band Association.

The band contest was planned to be an annual event in Utah County. However, rather than a contest in 1889, seven-hundred Utah County musicians and residents traveled by train to Garfield Beach for a combined outing and band concert on August 24, 1889. The bands stopped in Salt Lake City where they paraded on the city streets. *The Salt Lake Tribune* noted, "The united bands numbering 105 pieces paraded through the streets of this city making a decided impression."[73] The *Utah Enquirer* wrote in superlatives, "The band parade in Salt Lake City drew forth from everybody unbounded praise. It was the greatest event of the kind ever known."[74] In the afternoon a concert was given at Garfield Beach by the combined bands. This is the last known event in which the Lehi Brass Band participated.

A year later in 1890, the Lehi Brass Band met its demise. The last apparent references to the band were by band member William Francis Butt in July 1890, "Down to the band practice. Quite a few not there" and on July 24, 1890, "[Brass band] didn't play. The martiuel [martial] band, the silver, and the string band played."[75]

[72] Ibid.
[73] *Salt Lake Tribune*, August 25, 1889. See also James Kirkham Journal, August 24, 1889.
[74] *Utah Enquirer*, August 27, 1889.
[75] William Francis Butt Papers, BYU Library.

Over the years the band had increased in size from twelve members to twenty. In the last known tally of band members, eleven of the original members were still playing in the band. The heyday for the band was the mid-1880s.

Why did the Lehi Brass Band end after about nineteen years of existence? The answer may have been that there was a new competing band in town. In January 1887, a Young Men's MIA Silver Band was organized.[76] By then most members of the Lehi Brass Band were in their forties, with one player fifty years old. It was now time to pass the baton to a younger, more energetic generation.

In addition, the Lehi Brass Band lost one of its better musicians. Shortly after the Silver Band was formed it presented a petition to the Lehi Brass Band asking that Joseph Kirkham be released so that he could lead the Silver Band. Only three people voted in favor of the petition. In spite of the negative vote, Joseph Kirkham did leave the Brass Band a week later and became the Silver Band's new leader. There were inevitably some hard feelings over the matter, but they apparently did not last because Professor Fox, leader of the Lehi Brass Band, agreed to conduct the practices for the Lehi Silver Band, thereby continuing his musical influence.[77]

The Lehi Silver Band, inspired and nurtured by the Lehi Brass Band, has continued off and on until the present day. Unlike the Lehi Brass Band, the Lehi Silver Band obtained a bandwagon, which is still in existence today, and serves as a rallying point for the band.[78]

Largely forgotten today, the Lehi Brass Band was an important part of Lehi's musical scene for nineteen years, providing musical entertainment for all of northern Utah County and elsewhere. A factor for the success of the Lehi Brass Band—or any brass band—was its adaptability. It played music indoors and outdoors; it played a wide variety of music: waltzes, polkas, hymns, patriotic numbers, and folk songs. The band marched in parades, and performed before seated audiences.

The Lehi Brass Band stimulated pride among the citizens of Lehi. It was on hand to promote most events in Lehi, and it raised money for various good causes. Important relationships were forged between band members and prominent citizens; the men who worked together in the band ultimately worked together to bring a sugar factory to Lehi in 1890, an economic boon to that community.

Perhaps most importantly, the Lehi Brass Band brought much entertainment and many happy memories to the citizens of Lehi. Former band

[76] James Kirkham Journal, January 4, 1887; George Kirkham Journal, January 19, 1887; YMMIA Minutes, Lehi Ward, LR 4817 (series 16), LDS Church Archives; William Francis Butt Collection, LDS Church Archives.

[77] George Kirkham Journal, February 12, 1887 (the February 12 entry says "1888," but it is actually 1887), January 2, 1888; James Kirkham Journal, February 19, 1887; Kirkham, *Centennial History of Lehi*, 488.

[78] Kirkham, *Centennial History of Lehi*, 488.

HUTCHINGS MUSEUM

The Lehi Silver Band in 1905.

member, George Kirkham, fondly recalled one July 4, "I was wakened by the fireing of guns and so forth, and the old familiar sounds of the brass bands surnading of the town, something I used to look forward to as one of the grandest thing to live for when I was a boy. . . ."[79] Writing thirty-six years after the demise of the Lehi Brass Band, Lehi citizen Andrew Fjeld lauded, "[The brass band] was the delight of Lehi citizens, especially of the younger set, who think to this day, that no band that they have ever heard quite equalled the old Lehi brass band."[80]

[79] George Kirkham Journal, July 4, 1892.
[80] Fjeld, "How Lehi Celebrated Fourth."

ALL PHOTOS BY ARTHUR TOTHSTEIN

Passing Through: Arthur Rothstein's Photographic Account of Utah, March 1940

By JAMES R. SWENSEN

". . . As so often before, another traveler was about to discover America." Wright Morris[1]

In March 1940, Arthur Rothstein, a photographer in the employ of the Farm Security Administration (FSA), was slowly working his way westward across the United States from Washington D.C. His assignment was to document the conditions of California's migratory labor camps similar to those the public was reading about in John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath,* published a year earlier.[2] This was to be one of his last assignments for the New Deal agency. In April he would leave the Historical Section of the FSA to join the nascent staff of *Look* magazine, then only two years old.[3] As he

***LEFT:* State line Wyoming–Utah (1940). *RIGHT:* State line Utah-Nevada (1940).**

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[1] Wright Morris, "Photography in My Life," from *Photography and Words* (Carmel, California: The Friends of Photography, 1982); reprinted in Wright Morris, *Time Pieces: Photographs, Writing, and Memory* (New York: Aperture Foundation, 1999), 114.

[2] For more information on Rothstein's activities in California in 1940 see Carl Fleischauer, and others, eds., *Documenting America 1935-1943 (*Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 188-90.

[3] For more information regarding Arthur Rothstein's career see F. Jack Hurley, *A Portrait of a Decade: Roy Stryker and the Development of Documentary Photography in the Thirties* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972). There has yet to be an adequate study detailing his distinguished career and his contributions to photography.

worked his way through Nebraska, Colorado, and into Wyoming on Route 287, he photo documented everything that would be of interest to his agency and to anyone seeing this part of the country for the first time. His assignment continued into Utah traveling on U.S. 30.

Rothstein's portfolio of Utah is comprised of roughly twenty-five photographs and is not, by any means, a comprehensive view of the state. Nor is it a solitary example of documenting one's journey across Utah. In the rather recent past, for the last nearly two centuries, numerous travelers have documented their visits to Utah, and the unknown West with images and words. Arthur Rothstein's photographs add to this body of information.

In examining Rothstein's photographs it is possible to conclude that his journey across northern Utah was brief. He left his car on only six or seven occasions to photo document scenes that appealed to him.[4] Although brief, he was deliberate; his work in Utah testifies of a photographer who was accustomed to photographing the visual details of his life on the road. Beginning with a strategic photograph taken at the Wyoming-Utah border and ending at Wendover on the Utah-Nevada state line, one can easily trace the photographer's route across the state. The two photographs act as bookends, of sorts, to what might be called Rothstein's visual journal or more appropriately, a photographic day book of his excursion through the northern part of the state. Photography was the perfect medium in which to create such a visual account of one's journey. Other noted Americans, including Edward Weston and writer Wright Morris, used their cameras as well in their discovery of America.[5]

Arthur Rothstein was born and raised in New York City. While attending Columbia University he became a student, colleague and later friend of Roy Stryker, an economics professor from Colorado who, in 1935, left Columbia to head the Historical Section of the Resettlement Administration—two years later it became part of the Department of Agriculture's Farm Security Administration. Prior to joining the Historical Section in 1935 at the age of twenty—the first employee Stryker hired—Rothstein had never traveled outside northeastern United States. With a camera, unlimited film, car, and a five dollar per diem Rothstein would travel eventually through every state in the Union. Years later Rothstein remembered, "To me, being a New Yorker and finding myself out west in the Great Plains—anywhere west of the Hudson River—was a revelation. It was like getting a PhD. I spent five years traveling; I went to every one of

[4] It seems clear from the shadows in the photographs that Rothstein might have made the trip through Utah in no more than two days.

[5] See Charis Wilson Weston and Edward Weston, *California and the West* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1941); Wright Morris, *The Inhabitants* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946). The travels of both Weston from 1937 to 1939 and Morris in the early 1940s were facilitated by grants from the Guggenheim Foundation. In the late 1930s the freedom to photograph whatever one wanted was limited by one's financial resources. Indeed it was the lucky few who enjoyed, thanks to grants or governmental support (i.e. FSA), the relative freedom to produce the images they desired to make.

the 3,000 counties in the United States."[6] Although he failed to visit the number of counties he claimed, he did, in fact, spend more than nine months out of the year on the road crisscrossing and documenting the United States from the Badlands of South Dakota to Gees Bend in Alabama, and numerous sites in between.

The original purpose of the FSA's Historical Section was to photograph America's rural population during the Great Depression. Stryker sought to capture images that would mollify opposition to the Farm Security Administration's extensive and costly relief programs. In order to garner support for this program, Stryker's team of photographers, which included Walker Evans, Dorothea Lange, Russell Lee and others, collected images of the poverty and destitution that plagued rural America. Over time, however, the objectives of the Historical Section changed. Usurping the original intention of photographing unblinking poverty, by 1938 the agency took on an internal mandate to photograph what was right with the nation. Accordingly, Stryker and the others introduced "Americans to America."[7] By 1943, eight years after its creation, Stryker's Historical Section had amassed more than 270,000 images of America—most of which showed America as a bastion of hope and resilience.

Stryker instructed his photographers to photograph anything that "they felt should be reported and documented."[8] To prepare them for their assignments, he assigned vast amounts of reading, gathered local information, and he prepared shooting scripts, which outlined what they should be targeting with their cameras[9] Through this careful preparation, Stryker hoped that his photographers would have a greater appreciation of the people, their customs, and the diverse land of America they were to capture on film.

Stryker reproved those on his staff who failed to appreciate the country's diverse landscape. Marian Post-Wolcott, for example, was scolded for her derogatory remarks about the landscape of eastern Wyoming. "Now I just can't have you talking about the West like you do," he chided, "You're an FSA photographer and by god you gotta like every State."[10]

The real genius of Stryker, however, was that he left the core choices of what to document up to his photographers. It would be the field photographers who would be responsible for forwarding their agency's agenda. According to Rothstein, "[Stryker] wasn't just satisfied with the [activities

[6] Bill Ganzel, "Arthur Rothstein: An Interview," *Exposure: The Journal of the Society for Photographic Education* 16 (Fall 1978): 2.

[7] Roy E. Stryker and Nancy Wood, *In this Proud Land: America 1935-1943: As seen in the F.S.A. Photographs* (Greenwich, Conn.: New York Graphic Society LTD, 1973), 9.

[8] Thomas H. Garver, *Just before the war; urban America from 1935 to 1941 as seen by photographers of the Farm Security Administration* (Los Angeles: Rapid Lithograph Co., 1968), n.p.

[9] For examples of some of Stryker's shooting scripts see *Ibid*, n.p.

[10] Letter, Roy Stryker to Marian Post-Wolcott, September 19, 1941, Marian Post-Wolcott Archive, Center of Creative Photography, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona.

of the] FSA, but wanted to photograph everything in the country, all details, anything significant, and some things that were of no significance."[11] Elsewhere Rothstein explained: "A principle was established in the early days that there was no such thing as wasted film or wasted time. I like to think that each picture we made was being shot with a great deal of thought and not just to expose film."[12] This gave the FSA photographers a legendary amount of freedom—a *carte blanche*—to photograph anything they desired whether it pertained to their assignment or not. Therefore, they would not only photograph their prescribed assignments but would also bring out their camera anytime they had an opportunity.

Rothstein relished this opportunity of photographing "anything, anywhere in the United States—Anything that we came across that seemed interesting and vital."[13] In keeping with his ideas of documentary photography, he believed that "every phase of our time, and with its people and their environment had vital significance."[14] This was a natural and oft repeated reaction for many seeing the immensity and diversity of the United States, and particularly the West, for the first time. Rothstein's response was no different. In many ways Rothstein's photographic journal produced during his hasty excursion through Utah reflects the views and opinions of numerous others who have been exposed to the state for the first time.

Despite a long and successful career in photography, Arthur Rothstein has failed to receive the same level of recognition as many of his fellow members of the FSA's Historical Section. Some, such as Walker Evans and Dorothea Lange, have achieved the lofty recognition as major artists. Yet it is not the purview of this investigation to state whether this is just or not. What is evident, however, in many of these images is that Rothstein was trying to make interesting and aesthetically pleasing photographs. It must be remembered that Rothstein's images, as with the lion-share of other images in the vast FSA archives, were never designed to stand independently as works of art. (It is not the intention of this investigation to drag these images out of the historical archive into the vaunted halls of the art museum.)[15] Accordingly, these works were created to be informative documents that were to be included with other types of information. As such, the photographs from Rothstein's entire portfolio of Utah and accompanying text, presented below in what I suggest is a chronological order, will, I

[11] Arthur Rothstein, *Arthur Rothstein: Words and Pictures* (New York: American Photographic Book Publishing Co., Inc., 1979), 8.

[12] Garver, *Just before the war,* n.p.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Rothstein, *Words and Pictures,* 6.

[15] For more information on the slippery and potentially detrimental transition of moving photographs from the archive to museum (i.e. making artists out of photographers / operators) and its consequences, see Rosalind Krauss, "Photography's Discursive Spaces," and Douglas Crimp, "The Museum's Old / The Library's New Subject" in *The Contest of Meaning: Critical Histories of Photography*, ed. Richard Bolton (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1992).

TOP LEFT: Hay Stacker — Summit County, Utah. (1940) TOP RIGHT: Hay Stacker — Summit County. (1940) BOTTOM: Untitled (hay stacker), March 1940.[17]

hope, shed light on deeper meanings latent within these rich visual documents from 1940.[16]

One of Stryker's primary aims for his Historical Section was to create "a pictorial encyclopedia of American agriculture."[18] Today the sum total of photographs of similar objects from all across the nation—prescribed in shooting scripts by Stryker—by his diverse cadre of photographers supports an encyclopedic reading. From Vermont to Ohio, Wyoming to Oregon, in one such example, hay and hay stacking was a frequent subject of FSA photographers. Hay derricks represented many different things to different individuals. For the farmer they

[16] Overall the basic chronology is most likely correct. It is possible and even probable, however, that a few of the particular images might be slightly out of order.

[17] In the vast FSA files located in the Library of Congress (and on its website) this work is one of the many photographs lacking both a title and an attribution. In examining the visual information – snow, route, etc. – and its placement among the other works from this sequence, it seems very unlikely that this image, and other images to follow, could have come from anyone other than Rothstein in the spring of 1940.

[18] Roy Stryker, "The FSA Collection of Photographs," in *Photography in Print: Writings from 1816 to the Present*, ed. Vicki Goldberg (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1981), 351.

were the practical way of moving hay from one place to another. It is clear, however, that, like other roadside emblems, their meaning went beyond practicality. Derricks are about a specific time and place in America, its history, and the frontier.[19] For today's scholar of social history they may represent markers of regional differences and Yankee ingenuity. Other scholars see them as symbols of Utah's distinctive folk culture and craft.[20] For an urban photographer, like Rothstein, they were more than a relic of the dwindling past and a marker of the West, but an interesting composition. He photographed the derrick three times from different angles where one would have sufficed. He clearly enjoyed the way the dark, linear forms of the derrick contrasted with the distant, snow-covered Wasatch Mountains and the changing sky.

The type of derrick photographed by Rothstein was commonly known as a "Mormon Stacker" and was, as noted by Richard Francaviglia, a distinctive sign of a Mormon community.[21] Later, in 1940, Russell Lee, a

***LEFT AND RIGHT:* Snow Fence, Summit County, Utah. March 1940.**

[19] See Karal Ann Marling, *The Colossus of Roads: Myth and Symbol along the American Highway*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), xii.

[20] Richard Paulsen has noted that the derrick was a "folk artifact" that stood as a symbol of pioneer values for later generations. See Richard Paulsen, "Folk Material Culture of the Sanpete-Sevier Area: Today's reflection of a region's past," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 47 (Spring 1979): 144. For an in-depth investigation on derricks, their evolution, uses and mechanics, and styles see Austin Fife and James M. Fife, "Hay Derricks of the Great Basin and Upper Snake River Area," *Western Folklore* 7 (July 1948): 225-39.

[21] See Richard Francaviglia's *The Mormon Landscape: Existence, Creation, and Perceptions of Unique Image in the American West* (New York: AMS Press, 1978). During Dorothea Lange's visit for the FSA in 1936, she also targeted the "Mormon" elements of rural Utah. See the author's, "Dorothea Lange's Portrait of Utah's Great Depression," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 70 (Winter 2002): 60. This derrick is most likely an example of what Fife and Fife refer to as a Type 6a derrick common to the Salt Lake Valley but also found from Parowan to Idaho Falls. During their investigation they noted that twenty-six out of thirty-six derricks in the Salt Lake Valley were of this type. See Fife and Fife, "Hay Derricks of the Great Basin," 232-33.

colleague of Rothstein's in the FSA, photographed similar "Mormon Stackers" in use in Box Elder County.[22] Interestingly, he would also photograph a similar "Mormon stacker" on the farm of a rehabilitation borrower in Oregon. When Austin and James Fife made a one thousand mile journey across the West in the 1940s they observed more than fifteen hundred homemade derricks with 417 examples found between Bunkerville and Salt Lake City.[23] Today they are still visible but dwindling rapidly in numbers.

Rothstein might have been attracted to this seemingly banal scene for many reasons. He might have been interested in this fence as an example of a "Mormon Fence"—a crude, unpainted fence made of disparate components.[24] More likely, however, by investing two negatives to such a subject he was obviously drawn to it by the picturesque diagonal of a simple, snow-buried fence running across the frame of the photograph.

LEFT: Farm. Summit County, Utah, March 1940. RIGHT: Wasatch Mountains. Summit County, Utah, March 1940.

During his work with the FSA, Rothstein documented several U.S. farms in great detail. This farm, however, was quickly photographed from the road. A deeper investigation must not have been necessary. The farm and its environs, which he also photographed, would, however, provide a striking contrast to Rothstein's later side trip to the Bingham Canyon Mine.

[22] See Writer's Program, *Utah, a Guide to the State*, (New York: Hasting House, 1941), 163.
[23] Fife and Fife, "Hay Derricks of the Great Basin," 225, 229.
[24] Francaviglia, *The Mormon Landscape,* 67-68.

As he entered the Salt Lake Valley on U.S. 40, Rothstein turned a blind eye on the city that one 1934 tourist book called "the jeweled citadel . . . one of the most beautiful cities on earth."[25] Instead, he photographed the then sparsely populated foothills and snow-capped Mount Olympus. Yet Rothstein knew well that the primary agenda of the FSA was to emphasize rural America.[26] According to Stryker, "Our job was to educate the city-dweller to the needs of the rural population."[27]

LEFT: The eastern side of Salt Lake Valley looking south to Mount Olympus. RIGHT: Copper Pit, Bingham, Utah. (1940)

By 1940 Bingham Canyon was producing one-twelfth of the world's copper.[28] One of the earliest examples of open strip mining, Bingham had removed 650 acres of earth reaching a depth of fifteen hundred feet into the ground by that same year. It was heralded as "One of the most amazing sights of its kind in the world."[29] This sense of awe is conveyed in Rothstein's images of the enormity of the man-made canyon.[30] In his images of the mine, it is possible to see what was described in the WPA's *Guide to the State*: "The mountain, or what is left of it, rises like a huge stadium, its levels like bleacher seats for giants. Ant-like electric

[25] *Utah and the Intermountain Empire: "Nature's Greatest Scenic Center"* (Salt Lake City: Chamber of Commerce, 1934), 3.

[26] Stryker, *In this Proud Land,* 7. In the entire FSA catalog there is only one photograph of Salt Lake City. In 1940 Russell Lee photographed the assaying offices of C. Cowan and B. Bandwell and the Union Assay once located within the downtown area. (See Library of Congress Photograph LC-USF33-012952-M2.)

[27] Roger T. Hammarlund, "Portrait of an Era," *US Camera* 25 (November 1962): 71.

[28] *Utah, Guide to the State*, 317.

[29] *Utah and the Intermountain Empire*, 27.

[30] See James Guimond, *American Photographs and American Dream* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991). According to Guimond, Rothstein created the "grimmest industrial landscapes" during his trip through the West in the spring of 1940. In addition to Bingham Canyon, he also photographed the mines of Butte and Meaderville, Montana, and another strip mine in Ruth, Nevada.

shovels survey back and forth on tracks along these levels and snake-like ore trains crawl between the shovels and waiting railroad cars."[31] Again giving a glimpse of the incredible size of the mine is only part of Rothstein's interests. The carefully terraced walls of the pit, the flow of melting snow, and the small snake-like trains create a wonderful play of line and contour, contrast, and shape.

Miners' Homes, Bingham, Utah. (1940)

The mine proper was only part of what Rothstein would photograph that early spring day. In sharp contrast to the industrial order and harmony of the mine was the disheveled nature of the miners' homes. In 1937, Wallace Stegner described the living conditions in Bingham Canyon: "Miners prefer to live in the crowded gulch of Bingham proper [that is] barely wide enough at the bottom for a wretched, steep, impossible road. Houses went up steeply, overhanging the canyon bottom, piling on top of one another up the sides, and in them the miners lived as they pleased or as they could."[32] Simply titled *Miners' Homes. Bingham Utah*, Rothstein's image provides a visual counterpart to Stegner's words. In his photograph the dingy homes of the miners crowd the narrow, disheveled canyon. The writers of the WPA saw a similar situation, "dwellings rise

[31] *Utah, Guide to the State*, 317. See also *Utah and the Intermountain Empire*, 27.
[32] Wallace Stegner, *Mormon Country* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1942), 263.

abruptly from the street, and second story balconies lean precariously over the sidewalks. Unpainted bunker shacks are strewn carelessly over the countryside, and here and there is a handkerchief sized plot of grass. There is little or no class distinction in Bingham."[33]

***TOP LEFT:* Untitled (smelter), March 1940.**
***TOP RIGHT:* Sign on the Road leading to the Salt Lake Desert, Utah. (1940). *LEFT:* Road leading to the Salt Lake Desert, Utah. (1940)**

Rothstein made one last image of the mine and its operations before turning west along U.S. 50—later to become U.S. 40. An untitled image carefully recorded the mine's smelter and its large smoke stacks whose exhaust mingled delicately with the low-lying clouds. All of which reflects hazily across the tailing pond that was, and still is, a transitional piece that marks the northern most point of the Oquirrh Mountains and the southern tip of the Great Salt Lake.

Following this image his intentions returned to pushing westward. As any traveler on this road knows the lush Salt Lake Valley quickly turns to inhospitable desert within a matter of minutes. In 1844, the intrepid explorer John Charles Frémont looked at the same desert that faced Rothstein with despair. "We are evidently on the verge of the desert which

[33] *Utah, a Guide to the State*, 317.

had been reported to us," he noted, "and the appearance of the country was so forbidding, that I was afraid to enter it . . ."[34] By the time that Rothstein began his journey a paved road, which stretched, according to Stegner, like a "black ribbon across the desert," made travels much more hospitable.[35] There was, however, a little foreboding to be found in two signs that Rothstein photographed somewhere along the way. Hand-made signs, billboards, and handbills were common subjects for the FSA photographer, because they added local color and wit to their works. Both of the signs Rothstein photographed on this day warned travelers that they had better fill up their cars and their thirsts before they began the long, empty stretch ahead. With "Desert Ahead" this was the point of no return.

LEFT: Wasatch Mountains, Summit County, Utah. (1940) RIGHT: Road Through the Salt Lake Desert, Utah. (1940)

Of all the photographs that Rothstein took during his brief visit to Utah, these two best epitomize one of the state's defining characteristics: the visible contrasts. Alike in their composition but extremely different in their subject matter, the photographs of a road leading through Summit County stands in beautiful contrast to a photograph taken somewhere in the Utah Desert. Within these two photographs Rothstein reveals a land of dichotomy and sharp contrasts. Snow and mountains contrast sharply with sand and open desert. In the distance of the Summit County road a small farm is barely noticeable. This scene was obviously one that he saw as important for he made six exposures of the empty road in rapid succession. In contrast, the western desert bares nothing but what was considered wasteland. The WPA's *Guide to the State*

[34] Quoted in Gloria Griffen Cline, *Exploring the Great Basin* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 210.

[35] Stegner, *Mormon Country,* 40.

proclaimed "Utah is many things at once," explaining that "Utah is green-carpeted vales lying peacefully under the shadow of the Wasatch; Utah is wide solitude of rolling dry valleys, with hills marching beyond hills to blue horizons; Utah is unearthly white desert; Utah is tall snow-crowned mountains; Utah is blue lakes; Utah is canyon and plateau wonderfully fragrant with pines."[36] In these photographs one may sense Rothstein's realization that in the space of only a few minutes he had photographed and experienced two different worlds.

These two photographs are interesting from an autobiographical point of view as well. As he had done before and as he did after his trip through Utah, Rothstein exited his car to photograph the open, distant road that lay ahead. The photograph of the road to be traveled was a common trope used by other photographers as disparate as Dorothea Lange and Robert Frank to describe the symbolic journey of life and the unknown destination.[37] For Lange the image of the open road leading to California represented an ominous look at what lay ahead for the "Okies," "Arkies" and others who had traveled this road in search of a better life—one that, for most, never came. For Frank, a Swiss photographer one generation younger, a similar road, U.S. 285 in New Mexico, represented an existential futility that typified his investigation of American life. For Rothstein, however, they represented something else. Stryker encouraged photographs that showed the viewer "what it would feel like to be an actual witness to the scene."[38] Rothstein's photographs of deserted roads stretching off into eternity do just that. They represent something less pretentious, something more adventurous even something wondrously lonely. Ultimately they reveal, better than any other source, the love of seeing and photographing something new.[39]

The final pictures of Rothstein's travels to Utah were the border town of Wendover, Utah, and the state-line that divides the town. These photographs of the small town mark the final stanza of his work in the state. In a letter to Rothstein, Stryker was obviously pleased with what he

[36] *Utah, a Guide to the State*, 8.

[37] Rothstein would follow a similar photographic convention of photographing the open road on the same trip in Wyoming and later in Nevada. See *Highway U.S. 40 through Elko County, Nevada* (LC-USF34-029569-D) and *Highway U.S. 30. Sweetwater County, Wyoming.* (LC-USF346- 029598-D). This composition was not the invention of Rothstein, however. The distant road and the journey ahead is a constantly repeated theme and motif in the history of visual representation. Dorothea Lange's image of the open road, *U.S. 54 North of El Paso, Texas*, 1938, appeared in her seminal work *American Exodus*, written with her husband Paul S. Taylor in 1939. Robert Frank's photograph of the open road marked a very different message than those of Lange or Rothstein, and was included in his pivotal work, *The Americans* published in the United States in 1959.

[38] See William Stott, *Documentary Expression and Thirties America* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1973), 62-63. In a letter to Stryker, dated August 22, 1941, FSA photographer Marian Post-Wolcott relayed a similar experience to what clearly possessed Rothstein. "I tried to get the feeling of space and distance and solitude, etc, in some pix – using various devices – the road, telephone poles and wires along trains . . ." See her letter in Marian Post-Wolcott Archives.

[39] See Ganzel, "Arthur Rothstein," 19.

Wendover, Utah. (1940)

had photographed. On March 28, 1940, he wrote his employee and friend, "I have been through your . . . Nevada, Wyoming, Utah Pictures and you have some excellent things."[40] Exactly what images he liked of Utah, or what he thought of the portfolio as a whole, no one will ever know. It appears obvious, however, that Stryker's enjoyment of a photograph was tied more to its functionality than its inner aesthetics. He wanted the FSA images to be used in books, articles, government documents and pamphlets, or any other venue that could disseminate their ideas. At least two of Rothstein's images of Utah were published shortly after his visit. One of these, the bleak image of Wendover, was used as an illustration in the WPA's guide to the state.[41]

While these two photographs mark the end of his travels through Utah, they also herald the beginning of greater adventures on the horizon in the run-down mines and bustling casinos of Nevada. They do not, however, mark the end of Rothstein's work in the state. In the early 1980s Rothstein returned to Utah to participate in the photographic documentation of Utah's minority populations. Along with Kent Miles and George Janecek, he photographed selected members of the state's minority groups. When I asked a friend, FSA scholar Jack Hurley, what Rothstein thought of his time working in Utah, Hurley mentioned that he loved being in a place where he, as a New York City Jew, was considered a "Gentile." Their work culminated in the 1988 book *The Other Utahns: A Photographic Portfolio*.[42] It is one of the last projects that the former FSA photographer would take on. Arthur Rothstein died in 1985 at the age of seventy.

[40] Letter, Roy Stryker to Arthur Rothstein, March 28, 1940, Roy Stryker Papers, University of Louisville Archives.

[41] See *Utah, Guide to the State*, 323. Rothstein's image of a Summit County Hay Stacker [LC-USF346-029534-D] appeared as an illustration of "The Great West" in a photo essay from 1942 titled, *Fair is Our Land*. See *Fair is Our Land*, Samuel Chamberlain, ed. (Chicago, Peoples Book Club, Inc., 1942), 131.

[42] Leslie G. Kelen and Sandra T. Fuller, eds., photographs by George Janeck, Kent Miles and Arthur Rothstein *The Other Utahns : A Photographic Portfolio* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988); F. Jack Hurley to the author, email correspondence, January, 2003. Letter in possession of the author.

Pueblo Indian Agriculture. By James A. Vlasich. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005. xix + 363 pp. Cloth, $34.95.)

THE PUEBLO INDIANS of New Mexico have fascinated Euro-Americans for centuries. Their tenacity in retaining their culture, their still extant adobe, multi-storied villages, and especially their communal irrigated agriculture (so unlike the agriculture of other Native-Americans in the area) has created an image in the popular consciousness of a timeless people who, even today, live exactly as their ancestors did. The value of James Vlasich's book is to show that while there is a kernel of truth to this view, the Pueblos have also undergone enormous change over the years, and today the administration of tribal land and water is accomplished through a complicated mix of local, state, and federal agencies.

Vlasich has done a tremendous amount of research and the span of the book (from pre-historic times until the present) is impressive. The most original part of the book is the discussion of Pueblo water rights during the Spanish, Mexican, and American eras. Anyone who has studied in this field knows the daunting complexity of the topic. The author, however, does a good job of moving the reader through these issues in a thorough, but not necessarily lively, way. Vlasich also makes three interesting historical observations that have often been neglected by historians. One is the confusion over whether the Pueblos should be classified as roaming Indians like the Comanche, Apache, Ute or Navajo, or as citizen-farmers. This confusion began with the Spanish and continued into the American period. In fact it was not until 1913 that they were declared, once and for all, to be Indians and therefore wards of the federal government. The second point is that while Spanish, Mexican, and American governments acknowledged the primacy of Pueblo land and water rights, those rights have only been loosely enforced by unsympathetic locals. The final observation is that not all problems with Pueblo agriculture can be blamed on non-Indians. Flooding, excess silt, drought, and insect pests have plagued the Pueblo Indians from the time they began farming.

Reading this book one cannot but help to admire the pluck and determination of this group of people whose land and water have been constantly under siege first from Indian raiders, later by Spanish and American settlers, and finally by severe demands for water by a growing New Mexican population. Despite these pressures, the book ends with several positive notes. In the 1970s and 1980s there was a strong "back to the land" movement among the Pueblos that took advantage of the niche market for specialty foods such as blue corn. In addition the Pueblos have become much more aggressive in protecting their water rights. Finally, despite tremendous change, the agriculturally focused Pueblo religion is still widely observed even if the majority of the Pueblo people are no longer practicing farmers.

This book is based on Vlasich's dissertation and, unfortunately, suffers from the same sorts of flaws generally found in student papers (dry writing, jumbled

primary source anecdotes connected by vague and/or bland generalizations, and an extremely narrow focus that only occasionally addresses the "Big Picture"), although the writing does rally towards the end of the book. While this book will probably be chiefly of interest only to water rights experts and Pueblo Indian scholars, it does serve as a good reference source on this topic. One thing that Vlasich is to be commended for is the absence of histrionics that sometimes mar Native-American historical writing.

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Mapping and Imagination in the Great Basin: A Cartographic History.

By Richard V. Francaviglia. (Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 2005.

xviii + 231 pp. Cloth, $44.95; paper $24.95.)

THE GREAT BASIN is an extremely large sub-region of the American West, yet through years of traveling in and studying and writing about its physical and cultural characteristics, Richard Francaviglia has been able to portray a desolate, rather sparsely populated region, in ways that have helped make it picturesque, less mysterious, and perhaps, even bucolic. Because of his persistent scholarly focus on the Great Basin, we are fortunate to have, among other things, a detailed identification of features that denote the Mormon Landscape, an insightful perspective on the region's "spiritual geography," and now we have, in *Mapping and Imagination in the Great Basin*, an extraordinarily readable cartographic history of the Great Basin.

Francaviglia states that *Mapping and Imagination in the Great Basin: A Cartographic History* is a book "about the process by which maps and related images reveal the character of places. More particularly, it is about how mapmakers have depicted the Great Basin in the tradition of Western, which is to say European and European American, mapmaking. It is also about the people who make those maps and the other people who motivate them to do so" (xiv – xv). The author includes dozens of maps of the Great Basin, side-by-side, created over hundreds of years, so that the reader can visually observe a "process of change or evolution," or the geography of the Great Basin as it changed through time. This is, perhaps, historical geography at its best – a series of maps with associated narrative descriptions and explanations.

The book is organized chronologically so that Chapter 2 contains information about the oldest maps and Chapter 8 the most recent. The chapter titles and chronology are as follows: Chapter 2, "The Power of *Terra Incognita* (1540 – 1700)"; Chapter 3, "Maps and Early Spanish Exploration (1700 – 1795)"; Chapter 4, "In the Path of Westward Expansion (1795 – 1825)"; Chapter 5, "Demystifying *Terra Incognita* (1825 – 1850)"; Chapter 6, "Maps in the Sand (1850 – 1865)"; Chapter 7, "Filling in the Blanks (1865 – 1900)"; and Chapter 8, "Maps of the

Modern/Postmodern Great Basin (1900 – 2005)." This structure permits a visual portrayal of the Great Basin and allows for the Great Basin's geography to be comprehended through maps and other visual images.

Four elements make this book especially enjoyable. First, it is written in a remarkably lucid style that permits one to read on-and-on. Francaviglia's skillful narration removes what could have been a dry, tediously detailed, descriptive historical account of the numerous maps contained in the book. Second, the mapmakers' lives were brought to life. Francaviglia was able to capture personality traits of persons involved in the construction of many of the maps. This adds a component to the book that increases its ability to captivate the reader. Third, I appreciated the content of Chapter 1, "Comprehending the Great Basin." This chapter sets the stage for the rest of the book by providing an excellent, although short, account of the physical geography of the Great Basin. Fourth, Francaviglia's insights and perspective presented in Chapter 9, Comprehending Cartographic Change, and the Epilogue are particularly enjoyable. Here he notes the important role that maps and other images play in our lives, yet by themselves, they are mere fragments of our total comprehension of places.

My only criticism of the book is with Chapter 8, "Maps of the Modern/Postmodern Great Basin (1900 – 2005)." I think that it should be divided into two chapters, one covering the period 1900 to about 1950 and the other covering the period from 1950 to 2005. While Francaviglia's chronological portrayal moves through time in previous chapters methodically and at a reasonable speed, I feel that in Chapter 8, his presentation of maps, images, and his narration quickly gained speed as if he became tired of the project and was eager to complete it. Perhaps too much information was presented too rapidly in one chapter. A convenient break in Chapter 8 could occur with the construction of the Interstate highway system. That would allow for a separation of the modern from the postmodern era where remotely sensed imagery and technology provide our visual images of the Great Basin.

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High, Wide, and Handsome: The River Journals of Norman D. Nevills. Edited by Roy Webb. (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2005. xii + 308 pp. Paper, $21.95.)

THROUGHOUT THE LAST SEVENTY YEARS, river running has gradually emerged as a substantial tourist and commercial activity, not only in the United States, but also throughout the world, wherever rivers flow through canyons. White water rapids, the roller-coaster ride, is often touted as the main attraction, but after a few days, most voyagers on any river, whether placid or rapid-filled, feel

the experience as their sublimation into the environment, as if they become part of the cliffs, the tumbling water, the scene of dusk falling over a shadowy beach, or, in the morning, the creeping line of sunshine descending down gleaming red rocks. For the passengers, identities established in other spheres become meaningless as the shared experience begins to dominate. Only the expedition captain rises above it all. And one of the best captains was Norm Nevills.

Nevills was not a cultural aesthete, nor was he a poet. However, as much as he appreciated the flowing river, the sunsets and sunrises, he was, first and foremost, a businessman. His father drilled for oil, unsuccessfully, near Mexican Hat, Utah, then surrendered to his next alternative, the establishment of a motel alongside the San Juan River. From this vantage point, young Norman began his river career, first as contractor for a scientific investigation, then on his own, taking paying passengers down the San Juan into Glen Canyon and on to Lee's Ferry. His boats were simple wooden affairs (the first was called "horse trough"), but they proved adequate for the generally flat, slow-moving current.

Having virtually no pattern to follow, Norm and his wife, Doris, in the mid-1930s, initiated an intensive publicity campaign to lure boat passengers. When on the river, he devoted full time to keeping his guests happy, and was almost never at rest. He was an "A" type personality if there ever was one. As darkness fell on a river trip he would often push burning logs off a high ledge while singing a mysterious, creepy echoing chant. And the tourists loved it. During daytime on the river he was also known to tiptoe out onto a floating log and stand on his head. Along quiet stretches of the river he would relate historical tales of doubtful veracity—but who knew the difference?

Although the San Juan River business was fairly good, Nevills recognized that general public interest was more focused on stretches of white water rapids—the "wild" Grand Canyon, death-defying Cataract Canyon (Colorado River), or the Salmon and Snake—the "River of No Return." During the 1930s, newspapers and the public were avidly attracted to any boat party or leader who ventured down one of these dangerous rivers. To Norm here was guaranteed publicity—certain to enhance his name and the possibility of more paying passengers. He therefore constructed newly designed wooden "Cataract" boats, with an upsweep bow and stern and with waterproof compartments—actually pretty fair boats before the advent of rubber rafts.

Then he was off, in 1938, from Lee's Ferry down through the Grand Canyon. Altogether he made seven successful trips through the Grand from 1938 to 1949, and was the first to take women through the canyon. Tirelessly he scouted rapids, located campsites, and then directed his boats through tricky currents, trying to avoid whirlpools and rocks. In his journals he occasionally chastises associate boatmen for mistakes in judgment, but he also chides himself for near boating disasters.

Exclusively featured in the book *High, Wide, and Handsome* are Nevills's white water river journals, that is, trips down Grand Canyon, Cataract, and Salmon-Snake. These are exciting and show the determination, ingenuity, and stamina of

Nevills himself. Because he had no major accidents or deaths, one should not surmise that his white water trips were easy. Just as in his business pioneering of guest management, he also had to pioneer techniques of navigating oar-powered wooden boats through rocky rapids—a far more difficult task than piloting today's rubber rafts. Consequently, Norm was confronted with new challenges around almost every bend in the river. Only by complete awareness and quick thinking was he able to avoid disaster. More than anything, these journals reflect Nevill's concentration, energy, and sound judgment as he confronted each new obstacle.

Nevills became a nationwide celebrity, and his business at Mexican Hat boomed. By 1949 he was making a good living and was anticipating a scheduled 1950 expedition down Glen Canyon with the Sierra Club directors—ostensibly to show them what was to be inundated by Glen Canyon Reservoir. But the trip was cancelled.

On September 19, 1949, Norm and Doris took off in a light aircraft from the primitive Mexican Hat airport, headed for Grand Junction. They were airborne over the rocky canyon only a few seconds before the engine died. Lacking power, their small plane nose-dived into the rocks, killing both Norm and Doris.

Roy Webb, an outstanding scholar of river running, acting as editor, has done a splendid job of editing Nevills's journals, entering carefully researched notes about places mentioned, personalities encountered and adventurous episodes. Webb's notes are absolutely essential to a full understanding of Nevills's journals. These notes are substantive—not reference—and they should have been entered in the book as footnotes, that is on the same page as the journal reference, instead of as endnotes at the back of the book. To read Nevills's journal without the editor's notes close at hand is to miss half the story.

So reading *High, Wide, and Handsome* takes a bit of persistence, dedication, and interest. Yet it is all worth it. Nevills was one of the most interesting individuals ever to run commercial trips down the Colorado, Salmon, and Snake rivers. And he was the founding father on how to do it, to keep passengers excited and happy, to make a substantial profit, and to enlist prospective new customers.

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Sacagawea's Child: The Life and Times of Jean-Baptiste (Pomp) Charbonneau. By Susan M. Colby. (Spokane: The Arthur H Clark Company, 2005. 203 pp. Cloth, $28.50.)

JEAN-BAPTISTE CHARBONNEAU (1805-1866), the half breed son of Toussaint Charbonneau, a French Canadian fur trader and interpreter for the Lewis and Clark Expedition, and his Shoshone Indian wife, Sacagawea, lived a

long and eventful life participating in events of our national history that have largely gone unnoticed. That oversight has now been rectified by Susan M. Colby whose most recent work does much to place Jean-Baptiste in historical perspective, tracing the story of the development of a half-breed Indian child into a highly educated person who could be equally at home in two diverse cultures. The work commences with the cultural antecedents of the parents, thoroughly describing the physical and social conditions, which influenced their worldview. It then moves on to a description of the Lewis and Clark Expedition emphasizing the role that the Charbonneau family played in it. Thereafter, the focus of the study is entirely on Jean-Baptiste.

Subsequent to the return of the Corps of Discovery from the Pacific, William Clark willingly assumed the guardianship of Jean-Baptiste and during the ensuing years educated the boy in a manner consistent with the worldview of Thomas Jefferson and the ideals of the Enlightenment. Sometime during his eighteenth year Jean-Baptiste had the good fortune to come under the influence of Friedrick Paul Wilhelm, duke of Wurttemberg, a twenty-five year old man of royal parentage who likewise espoused the ideals of the Enlightenment. Together they sailed to Germany where for the next five years the young Native American received a "classic education." By 1830, Jean-Baptiste returned to the American West and entered into the Rocky Mountain fur trade during which time he came into contact with the major personalities of the fur trade. With the advent of the Mexican War in 1846 he was contracted by General Stephen Watts Kearny to serve as a guide for Colonel Philip St. George Cooke's Mormon Battalion on their epic overland march to San Diego. Subsequently he held the office of magistrate in the civil government of California at the former San Luis Rey Mission before resigning and heading north to the gold fields on the Middle Fork of the American River where for the next eighteen years he at first mined and later went into partnership with Jim Beckwourth to operate a hotel. Upon hearing of the gold discoveries in Montana he departed California in early spring and while fording a river in southeastern Oregon he soaked his clothing, contracted pneumonia and died May 16, 1866, at Inskip's Station near present-day Danner.

Colby, a distant cousin of Jean-Baptiste, had no easy task in the preparation of this biography. Despite an education unordinary in his time, Jean-Baptiste left this world without a memoir or, for that matter, hardly a paragraph or scarcely a signature. Most of what is known about him comes to us by way of the recorded observations of his contemporaries. That aside, Colby's bibliography testifies to her exhaustive efforts to garner every available primary document relating to her subject. Her work differs from other previous works in that hers fills in the lapses in the historical record with carefully crafted oblique literary devices, which create the illusion of historical certainty but are unfortunately quite speculative (e.g., "perhaps," "suggests," "must have," and "probably," are abundantly distributed throughout the text).

Handsomely bound in red linen cloth with gold foil stamped lettering, well

indexed and illustrated, containing a thorough bibliography and adequate maps, *Sacagawea's Child* is a good read and will be a welcomed addition to the libraries of Lewis and Clark aficionados, fur trade enthusiasts, and Western Americana bibliophiles in general.

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Junius & Joseph: Presidential Politics and the Assassination of the First Mormon Prophet. By Robert S. Wicks and Fred R. Foister. (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2005. xi + 316 pp. Cloth, $45.95; paper, $24.95.)

ROBERT S. WICKS AND FRED R. FOISTER have combined, in their very first effort in the field of Mormon studies, a fresh, provocative, and award-winning (John Whitmer History Association Best Book Award for 2005) reexamination of the old evidence on the 1844 murder of Joseph Smith. Often challenging the current telling of the story, they argue that Smith's murder was, in fact, a thoroughly orchestrated, "military-style execution" by a conspiracy that extended well beyond the political limits of Hancock County—even reaching beyond the residence of the Illinois Democratic Governor in Springfield nationally to the inner circle of the Whigs' presidential hopeful, Henry Clay. They attempt, with some success, to unmask the identity of the four men who shot Smith as he lay stunned against the stone curb of the now-famous well. They continue to plow new ground when they highlight the larger American political landscape during a presidential election year, providing important context for the events on the western prairie of Illinois in June 1844.

Their efforts are sometimes marred by missteps along the way. For example, they do not know the church changed its name in 1838, not 1837 (16); Sidney Rigdon was baptized before he met Joseph Smith, not after (17); Jackson County, Missouri, was identified as the Garden of Eden, not Far West in Caldwell County (18); the name of the newspaper in Independence, Missouri, was the *Evening and the Morning Star*, not the *Evening and Morning Star*, a paper published later in Kirtland, Ohio (18); and so forth.

Ironically, as they attempt to provide an accurate word-picture of the events at Carthage, they perpetuate a false visual image of the physical setting of the assassination. They emphasize Frederick Piercy's 1855 sketch of the jail showing a post-1844 frame summer kitchen on the northeastern side of the brick building (160) by providing, on the facing page, a rather large, modern, detailed "Reconstruction of the Jail" (161), showing the same frame building. Yet, seemingly unaware or less concerned for such details, they provide the very sources that could have saved them from this misguided visual reconstruction when they reproduce the 1845

"Sketch of the environs of the Carthage jail" (230) and the 1845 "Illustration from William N. Daniels" (277), which clearly show that no frame structure existed at the time of Smith's murder.

In some instances, they depart from their innovating reconstruction of the story when they accept, without questioning, the old and worn-out storylines. For example, they do not acknowledge Glen M. Leonard's recent conclusion that John Taylor was not saved by his watch (182). They emphasize the stale, yet sensational, interpretation that Smith's last cry, "O Lord, my God," was a Masonic distress call (178) without asking the significance or acknowledging Willard Richards' similar gesture and cry just moments later (reminding one of the Jewish attitude of prayer and the cry of the righteous petitioner in the book of Psalms). In failing to ask new questions of such old interpretations and sources, they are unable to provide the kind of thoughtful analysis present in other sections of the book.

Nevertheless, Wicks and Foister are to be congratulated for an imaginative reconstruction of some of the most significant aspects of the story. The book, therefore, will become required reading for anyone interested in this pivotal moment in Mormon history.

RICHARD NEITZEL HOLZAPFEL
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Gathering in Harmony: A Saga of Southern Utah Families, Their Roots and Pioneering Heritage, and the Tale of Antone Prince, Sheriff of Washington County.

By Stephen L. Prince. (Spokane: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2004. 334 pp. Cloth, $39.95.)

NEARLY A DECADE AGO Los Angeles dentist Stephen L. Prince brushed off a challenge from his brother, Greg, to write a biography of their grandfather Antone Prince, longtime sheriff of Washington County, Utah. Stephen later reconsidered and set to work on what evolved into *Gathering in Harmony*, not so much a biography of Antone, as a deeply researched and wide ranging family history.

As Prince sees it, his family's story is best understood when envisioned as an hourglass, the sands at the top funneling through a narrow neck in the person of Antone, and then dispersing widely again in the generations that followed. *Gathering in Harmony* focuses upon the top half of that hourglass, represented here in Mormonism's doctrine of gathering. Antone Prince and New Harmony, Utah, a small ranching outpost in Washington County, become the person and place at the center of the hourglass and the culmination of this story.

It is an intriguing tale, especially as it brings into sharp focus the wide reaching, albeit sometimes feeble nature of early Mormonism's missionary efforts. Even more clear are the familial and personal results of those efforts as Mormonism's

vast net brought newly converted Latter-day Saints from disparate backgrounds together into a common cause and, in this case, a common family. Antone's great-grandparents, George and Sarah Bowman Prince, for example, responded to a short lived Mormon incursion into South Africa in the 1850s and eventually gathered to Utah. Over the years they and their children and grandchildren met, mingled with, and married into the William Taylor, Isaac Allred, John H. Redd, James H. Imlay, Hosea Stout, and John D. Lee families.

Upon conversion, the fate and fortune of these various families largely became one with that of the frontier religion that they embraced. Stephen Prince, therefore, methodically chronicles the story of the Latter-day Saints' troubled history in Missouri and Nauvoo, Illinois, the trek of the Mormon Battalion, the Utah War, colonization efforts in the Great Basin, and the ensuing difficulties with Native Americans. Students of Mormon and Utah history will find the tale familiar, although Prince does pepper it with anecdotes from the various families he follows and largely relies upon primary source materials.

The final two chapters on Antone Prince are especially enjoyable. They offer fresh stories of life in southern Utah during the first half of the Twentieth Century. The author, for example, highlights New Harmony's little known mohair industry and its eventual demise as a result of the Great Depression. Antone's tenure as Washington County Sheriff from 1936 to 1954 is even more colorful. For Antone, those years were filled with the excitement of manhunts, roadblocks, robberies, cattle rustling, and murder. Antone's knack at tracking suspects, his forthright and trusting attitude toward his prisoners, and his proclivity for entering dangerous situations unarmed created in him not only a popular sheriff, but a southern-Utah folk hero.

Antone's exploits notwithstanding, these final chapters almost stand alone. There is not a strong link between Antone as sheriff and the vast family and Mormon history that dominate the rest of the book. In what ways did Antone's rich heritage shape him into the fine public servant that he was and in what ways did he represent something new at the middle of the hourglass, especially as the Prince family transitioned from the Mormon gathering to a familial dispersal? Answering such questions would more fully unify the story and solidify Stephen's vision of his family, with Antone at the center linking past and future generations. Even still, *Gathering in Harmony* is a fine piece of family and local history that should find a ready audience among Mormon, Utah, and family history enthusiasts alike.

W. PAUL REEVE
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Goodbye Judge Lynch: The End of a Lawless Era in Wyoming's Big Horn Basin.

By John W. Davis. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005. xiii + 266 pp. Cloth, $32.95.)

THIS CAREFULLY RESEARCHED BOOK is about the Big Horn Basin's passage from the lawlessness of its frontier status to social stability, with state and county governments in place, with elected officials, country commissioners, sheriffs, deputies, and with judges and courts that could provide "legal law enforcement." It is an informative journey through the legal history of the area, and into the subtle changes that impact what "society" accepts or demands.

John W. Davis, a resident of the area and an experienced attorney, brings his expertise to examining the official records, newspapers, and private accounts, to tell this interesting and complex story. While frontier violence is an American phenomenon, he reviews violence in Wyoming thoroughly, but focuses on the Big Horn Basin by examining two watershed cases: the first in 1902, the second in 1909 when Judge Lynch presided.

Wyoming came into existence as a territory in 1869, with the building of the transcontinental railroad. Statehood followed in 1890. Governance, directed from the south, was limited and remote. Additionally, the geography of the Big Horn Basin further isolated the region, being surrounded by mountain ranges: the Pryors to the north, the Absarokas to the west, the Owl Creeks to the south through which the Wind River flowed to become the Big Horn River at the "wedding of the waters" south of Thermopolis. The Big Horns ranged north and south as the Basin's eastern boundary. Getting there was not impossible, but from any direction, it was difficult.

The economic base for the Basin was its excellent rangelands, first exploited by cattlemen as early as 1879. They could trail their large herds in to graze, and trail their "beef" out to markets at the railroad: Rawlins two hundred miles to the south, and eventually Billings, Montana, one hundred miles to the north. Thousands of head of cattle were brought in and did well until the severe winter of 1886-87, when many herds were decimated. At the same time the cattlemen's tenuous claims on the ranges were beginning to be challenged by sheep men who also wanted the rich ranges for grazing. Cattlemen/sheepmen conflicts are historic.

Another challenge to the cattlemen's dominion came from the homesteaders, both individuals and those attracted to the major irrigation projects being developed in the Basin. Among them were Mormons from Utah who settled on the Greybull River (1890s) and Shoshone River (1900s), tributaries to the Big Horn River.

Law enforcement in the region had been the purview of the ranchers and their cowboys. More than twenty people were killed in the Basin before 1900, with no convictions. Official action was remote with some coming from Johnson County

to the east (Buffalo), and from Fremont County to the southwest (Lander). While Big Horn County had been designated as a county in 1892, it did not begin functioning until 1895, with Basin City as its county seat.

The first major case that Davis reviews in depth is *State v. James Gorman* (1902). Jim Gorman was charged with killing his brother, Tom. Tom's beautiful wife, Maggie, was also charged, but she turned state's evidence against Jim, with Judge Joseph L. Stotts from Sheridan presiding. Public sentiment was against Jim, since his brother Tom had been well liked generally. His attorney, E. E. Enterline, provided an able defense for his client, who was charged with first-degree murder. In such cases, the seating of the jury is critical, both for the prosecution and for the defense. In the Gorman trial, the patriarchs of the area were well represented on the jury. They returned a verdict of guilty of manslaughter.

For reasons still unclear, Jim Gorman asked for a retrial, even though to his attorney, the chance for acquittal seemed remote. The second jury had a few more Mormons on it, and returned a decision of murder in the first degree. Davis speculates that the Mormon peoples' own heritage of mob violence likely made them less tolerant of those who chose to take the law into their own hands. Judge Carpenter sentenced Jim to be hanged on June 26, 1903. An appeal demanded a review and delay of execution.

Gorman's problem was compounded because of another murder. Joseph Walters had killed a widow, Agnes Hoover of Otto, (1902) because she refused to marry him. In *State v. Walters*, he was found guilty of murder in the first degree. However, an appeal was requested because his defense attorney, R. R. McCabe, had not been given adequate time to prepare a proper defense. Walters' attorney in the appeal was also E. E. Enterline. Consequently, in 1903, Basin City had two men on "death row," with both appealing their sentences. Davis writes: "Something else was stirring in Big Horn County, something ugly, and quintessentially American" (80).

When sheriff Fenton heard that a party of determined citizens from Shell and Paint Rock was coming to lynch Gorman and Walters, he decided to hide them in one of the canyons nearby. Gorman managed to escape by swimming the Big Horn River, only to be captured a few days later, and returned to jail in Basin City. Fate seemed to strike another blow against Gorman, as sheriff Fenton had to leave Basin City to pick up a prisoner in Thermopolis. His departure left the jail undermanned with only his deputy George Mead in charge. The angry vigilantes ferried across the river, then approached the courthouse, where they fired into it, killing clerk/deputy Earl Price instantly. They tried to break the two prisoners out to hang them, but the cell was too secure. They shot and killed both men, with Walters standing facing the attackers, while Gorman tried to hide under his bed. Prosecution of the perpetrators was attempted, but all charges were dismissed. Davis observes: "The society was still immature, and it was hard to know when this would change" (116).

The cattlemen's raiding and killing of sheep herds had been fairly common.

But the Sheep Creek raid in April 1909, resulted in the deaths of three herders. Ranchers and sheep men had established a deadline dividing their ranges in 1897. Sheepmen Joe Allemand and Joe Emge in April 1909 challenged that arbitrary line by moving their herds onto Spring Creek, near Ten Sleep, Wyoming.

Seven local ranchers chose to raid the two camps resulting in the deaths of Emge, Allemand, and a herder, Lazier. Angry public reaction called for prosecution and punishment of the perpetrators. This time, sheriff Felix Alston and county attorney Percy Metz, had good support as they began the investigation. The money from the Wyoming Wool Growers Association, and the help of range detective Joe LeFors, were pivotal to the prosecution, directed by E. E. Enterline and fellow attorney Will Metz, father of the young prosecuting attorney.

But the cattlemen were not giving up easily. They put most of the attorneys in the Basin on retainer, and even bought up several newspapers to present their version of the case. It was at this point that sheriff Alston asked for the militia, a request granted by the governor, to be stationed in Basin City, in spite of the objection of mayor Collins. The grand jury indicted all seven men. Davis notes that several Mormon men were on that jury also.

Herbert Brink was tried first. Two of the men charged turned state's evidence, making the prosecution's case even stronger. The remaining five were all found guilty of murder or arson or manslaughter. Still, the cattlemen "honored" them as they left Basin City for prison.

Davis gives a good review of what happened to the people affected over the years. In his informative summary account, Davis notes: "Under modern law, Jim Gorman (1903) would have been convicted of manslaughter." And, as Judge Parmalee told the 1909 grand jury: "No body of men, however wise or well intentioned, may safely be entrusted to pronounce upon or to redress public wrongs or private grievances outside the forms of the law" (210-11). Davis concludes: "Judge Lynch should never have rendered a decision" (211).

MELVIN T. SMITH
St. George, Utah

A Navajo Legacy: The Life and Teachings of John Holiday. By John Holiday and Robert S. McPherson. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005. xxii + 394 pp. Cloth, $29.95.)

WITHOUT A DOUBT, Robert McPherson is one of the most prolific and conscientious writers on the Navajo people in this generation, and an advocate of their life ways, history, and place in American society. He is consummately careful not to breech the right of literary sovereignty native peoples everywhere are exerting over their own culture and heritage. In this latest work one perceives certain humility about his approach to such things, and one enters into the dialogue

on that same premise. As co-author/editor, he is gracious in his acknowledgement of those who helped him bring the work to print: Baxter Benally, who did the extended interviews with John Holiday in his native tongue, ever striving to bring out the most salient and connective stories and teachings, and Mary Holiday, a clan relative of John's, who took on the colossal work of translation. Paramount, of course, is first-named co-author, John Holiday.

John Holiday is a tribal elder, medicine man and spiritual leader who is very much aware of the conundrum facing Navajo youth in these times: drugs and alcohol, seemly, flamboyant, non-traditional dress and hair styles, and sexual promiscuity, among other things. He would teach them as he was taught, to develop a clean mind and body, to learn only the good in language, songs, and prayers, and to then dwell on it and live accordingly. He sees traditional Navajo lifestyle as the best way for these things to be taught. In fact, a large portion of Holiday's narrative presents his life, imbedded in traditional living, ceremony, and observance, as a great backdrop to a stage on which Navajo life continues to be played out over time by successive generations, but in a new-age setting. He wants his legacy to stand as a constant testimony and reminder of how things once were for his people, and how, he feels, they yet can be.

Holiday and McPherson provide fifty-five pages of notes to help make the story more logical for the reader who lives outside Navajo reality; these are some of the most cogent endnotes possible in such a work; absolutely wonderful explanation is herein presented. They have skillfully placed throughout the book fifty-two mostly historical photographs from noted collections from around the region. It is amazing just how many of these photos portray Navajo life in times past as if they were a snapshot taken by John as he lived his own life. The truth is, of course, that the photos are random, but speak of traditional Navajo life ways over time, and could be plugged into many Navajo lives as easily as they fit into Holiday's. These are a superb selection, a visual narrative wherein are reified the very worldview and teachings Holiday hopes to pass on in his narrative. There is even a map, to ground that reader who needs to know north, east, south, and west to the events as told in a story, to be affixed, as it were, in space as well as in time.

Like Walter Dyk's *Son of Old Man Hat*, Leslie Marmon Silko's *Ceremony*, and McPherson's earlier work, *The Journey of Navajo Oshley*, *A Navajo Legacy, The Life and Teachings of John Holiday* is destined to become a classic in Native American studies. It is the voice of John Holiday discussing, outright, certain rituals and ceremonies that he sees as particularly powerful, hoping that he might be able to use the modern, written word to reach some of those of his people lost to the fast-paced, dominant lifestyle that surrounds and captivates them. This is all presented separate from his descriptive life history, steeped in tradition and Navajo belief. Anyone who can imagine, and especially those who have traveled Navajo lands of the four-corners area, will, as they read this life history, have a vision in their mind of those events, will virtually feel the warmth of the sun in its seasons, smell the sage and smoke and canvas and animals laced into John's stories, and hear the

flinty sound of mule and horses' hooves passing over shale slopes and echoing along canyon walls as large as the *Navajo Legacy* will be significant.

H. BERT JENSON
Utah State University

Earning My Degree: Memoirs of an American University President. By David Pierpont Gardner. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005. xx + 432 pp. Cloth, $49.95.)

BY THE END OF DAVID GARDNER'S first year as president of the University of Utah, master portraitist Alvin Gittins' painting of the forty year-old leader hung on the west wall of the broad Park Building corridor leading to the president's office. Possessing an uncommon ability to capture the essence of his subjects, Gittins' presented an alert and resolute figure adorned with academic regalia, including his official medallion. The background appears as a marble slab with the words "David P. Gardner" chiseled in stone. One-third of a century and nineteen years in two major university presidencies later, Gittins' image rings true.

David Gardner will be remembered as one of the last century's most articulate, knowledgeable, and effective university presidents. A reputation for being too aggressive about pursuing his own interests, however, has dogged him throughout his career. Gardner's *Memoirs* vouchsafe this judgment, rendered independently by his friends and enemies in both California and Utah. A memoir, in full usage, is not only a form of autobiography but also sometimes "a reminder." In this case, we are reminded of Gardner's many laudable achievements and made privy to his means of attaining them. But, we are also given his perspectives on the long chain of controversies surrounding his income, housing, benefits, and perquisites.

Following two chapters on his youth and education, Gardner devotes a third one to his presidency of the University of Utah and a fourth to his leadership, during the final phase of his University of Utah years, of the durable national critique of public education that the Reagan Administration titled and released as "A Nation at Risk." Chapters 5 through 8 concentrate on Gardner's leadership of the University of California's nine-campus system from 1983 to 1992. In chapter 9 he offers a broader perspective on his presidential experiences in Utah and California. The final chapter describes his personal life over the years, including the death of Libby, his wife of thirty-two years, and his abrupt and stormy departure from the University of California presidency. An epilogue deals with Gardner's personal renewal, marriage to Sheila Rodgers, and foundation leadership over the last dozen years.

Earning My Degree inspires a range of responses. Gardner provides a clear and candid account of the demands on a modern university president. He also emphasizes the issues that buffet academic leaders and, on a more personal level, articu-

lates the principles that guided his decision-making. He did not shrink from tough judgments, nor duck when consequences—anticipated or unanticipated—were meted out. Gardner's frank portrayal of the constant interplay between his official role and his personal values constitutes the book's primary strength. The excessive space he accords to telling his side of the pay and benefits controversies, and to describing his relationships with national and international leaders, are the least endearing elements of the story. If he had spared even a few of these lines in favor of acknowledging some of the extraordinarily dedicated high-level staff on whom he depended to achieve his many successes, the book would have had a much better feel. On balance, this volume will be of value to anyone whose life has been intertwined with the University of Utah or the University of California. The book should also be of interest to those who study higher education history, public policy making, and leadership.

Finally, having served as a dean under Gardner for nine of his ten Utah years, admiring his astute defense of academic values—from public enlightenment to scholarly research—and his deft strategic initiatives, I benefited greatly when the responsibility of leading Deep Springs College fell to me. *Earning My Degree* will provide similar advantages to anyone contemplating or occupying such a position in academe.

L. JACKSON NEWELL
University of Utah

BOOK NOTICES

Canyon Spirits: Beauty and Power in the Ancestral Puebloan World. Photographs by John L. Ninnemann, essays by Stephen H. Lekson and J. McKim Malville. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005. xii + 113 pp. Paper, $24.95.)

Canyon Spirits contains a large number of beautiful photographs taken by award-winning photographer John C. Ninnemann. The images show the beauty of Pueblo Bonito in Chaco Canyon and other historic sites. Archaeologist Stephen Lekson and astrophysicist J. McKim Malville provide background into Puebloan architecture, science, and their way of life.

Exploring with Lewis and Clark: The 1804 Journal of Charles Floyd. Edited by James A. Holmberg. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004. xiv + 98 pp. $45.00.)

Sergeant Charles Floyd was born in eighteenth century Kentucky and has the distinction of being a hand picked member of the Lewis and Clark

Expedition. He was also the only member of the Corps of Discovery to die en route. Before his death, Floyd kept a journal detailing the expedition, which is reprinted in this installment of the American Exploration and Travel Series. In this book, a facsimile copy of each page of Floyd's journal is juxtaposed with a printed copy, and the editor has supplied background information and explanatory footnotes.

Folding Paper Cranes: An Atomic Memoir. By Leonard Bird. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2005. xvi + 152 pp. Paper, $14.95.)

A myriad of works have been written regarding the twin atomic blasts in Hiroshima and Nagasaki that ended World War II and laid waste to entire cities. Far less is known of a similar detonation in 1957 above the Yucca Flats in Nevada—and what became of those affected by the 58,300 kilocuries of radioactive iodine that it spewed into the atmosphere.

Leonard Bird was one of many exposed to radiation at the Nevada Test Site in the 1950s. This is his memoir—and a courageous strike at nuclear proliferation. Among other insights, Bird brings to the fore a fact incomprehensible to most Americans today: no matter where you live in the continental United States, you may have been exposed to nuclear poisons. In the words of Bird, "we are all downwinders." In addition to these stunning revelations, Bird meticulously outlines the trail of death left by governmental atomic tests—a trail that passes over tens of thousands of American veterans—and in the process he makes peace with the past.

Forged in Fire: Essays by Idaho Writers. Edited by Mary Clearman Blew and Phil Druker. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005. 261 pp. Paper, $16.95.)

Earth, air, water, and fire are four elements that, according to ancient Greek thinkers, make up the entire composition of the world. Having written an anthology on water, Dr. Mary Blew now teams up with fellow teacher and writer Phil Druker to produce a second anthology on fire.

Written by native Idahoans, whose state is constantly threatened by wildfire, *Forged in Fire* presents that most basic "element" in all of its forms: as a destroyer, as an entertainment, as a protection, as a sustainer of life, and as a link with man's primitive past. From fighting blazing flames run rampant across the forest to saving a baby burned at home, from taming fire in a university laboratory to building a simple campfire, Blew and Druker's anthology explores the human response to fire—how it "warms us, frightens us, entertains us," according to the book's introduction—at the same time examining subsequent environmental renewal and rejuvenation.

Fort Bowie, Arizona: Combat Post of the Southwest, 1858-1894. By Douglas C. McChristian. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005. x + 357 pp. $32.95.)

Fort Bowie was founded in 1862, during the middle of the Civil War. The fort, which is in present-day Arizona, was at the center of a great deal of conflict between U. S. troops and American Indians. Peace agreements with Cochise, an Apache chief, and Geronimo were made at Fort Bowie. In his book, a forty-year history of the fort, McChristian describes these events as well as details of the westward expansion of the United States.

Heart Petals: The Personal Correspondence of David Oman McKay to Emma Ray McKay. Edited by Mary Jane Woodger. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2005. xvi + 200 pp. $21.95.)

The sixty-four letters David O. McKay wrote to Emma Ray span a period of thirty-five years from July 1, 1898, to November 16, 1932, and exude the love and respect that the Mormon church leader held for his wife of sixty-nine years. Obviously not all the letters that McKay wrote to his wife were preserved, but there are sufficient to reveal the character of a husband who lived by example the counsel he gave others. The letters cover their courtship, the two years McKay spent as a missionary in Scotland from 1897 to 1899, McKay's letter to O.H. Riggs asking permission to marry his daughter and the father's response to his daughter, letters written during a trip to Japan, New Zealand, Australia, and Samoa in 1921, and other letters from a sprinkling of North American cities and towns in the Intermountain West. The editor provides a useful introduction, epilogue, and detailed notes to enhance the book.

Illustrated Emigrants' Guide to the Historic Sites Along the Hastings/Mormon Trail Fort Bridger to the Salt Lake Valley. By John Eldredge. (Salt Lake City: TrailBuff.com Press, 2005. xiii + 178 pp. Cloth, $30.00; Paper $25.00.)

This modern-day trail guide is heavily illustrated with historic and contemporary photographs and maps for today's trail visitors to the overland trail from Fort Bridger to the Salt Lake Valley. The trail guide includes brief contemporary descriptions of dozens of significant geographical features and historic sites on this once heavily traveled route to the Salt Lake Valley.

UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY FELLOWS

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JAMES B. ALLEN
LEONARD J. ARRINGTON (1917-1999)
MAUREEN URSENBACH BEECHER
FAWN M. BRODIE (1915-1981)
JUANITA BROOKS (1898-1989)
OLIVE W. BURT (1894-1981)
EUGENE E. CAMPBELL (1915-1986)
C. GREGORY CRAMPTON (1911-1995)
EVERETT L. COOLEY
S. GEORGE ELLSWORTH (1916-1997)
AUSTIN E. FIFE (1909-1986)
PETER L. GOSS
LEROY R. HAFEN (1893-1985)
JESSE D. JENNINGS (1909-1997)
A. KARL LARSON (1899-1983)
GUSTIVE O. LARSON (1897-1983)
BRIGHAM D. MADSEN
DEAN L. MAY (1938-2003)
DAVID E. MILLER (1909-1978)
DALE L. MORGAN (1914-1971)
WILLIAM MULDER
FLOYD A. O'NEIL
HELEN Z. PAPANIKOLAS (1917-2004)
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